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THRACIA
SEA of MARMORA
Propontis
Troas
Adramyttene
Pergamus
Smyrna
Ephesus
Sardis
Hermus
Caystrus
Meander
Lydia
Phrygia
Caria
Rhodes
Cnidus
Halicarnassus
Cos
Miletus
Samos
Chios
Lesbos
Mitylene
Assos
Alexandria Troas
Ida
Cilicia
Campus
Longitude East from Greenwich
The
North Western Part of
ASIA MINOR,
from
LT. COL. LEAKE'S MAP,
and some Alterations collected from the Journies of
MAJOR KEPPEL'S JOURNIES
from Alexandretta to
English Miles

NARRATIVE

OF

A JOURNEY ACROSS

THE BALCAN,

BY THE

TWO PASSES OF SELIMNO AND PRAVADI;

ALSO OF

A VISIT TO AZANI,

AND OTHER

NEWLY DISCOVERED RUINS IN ASIA MINOR,

IN THE YEARS 1829-30.

84414

BY

MAJOR, THE HON^BLE GEORGE KEPPEL, *F.S.A.*

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

LONDON:

HENRY COLBURN AND RICHARD BENTLEY

NEW BURLINGTON STREET.

1831.

KCP/ I ..
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THE SECOND VOLUME.

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NARRATIVE,

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Departure from Shumla — Unpromising Prospects — Change our Route — Appearance of the Country — Pravadi Pass of the Balcan — Chalcovatch — Wretched Accommodation — A Tribe of Tartars on a March — Intense Frost — A Kiahya Bey — The Delli Kamçhick — Danger of the Passage — The Passage of the Balcan considered — The Sultan's Claims to Military Reputation — Undefended State of the Mountain Passes — General Ignorance of their Weakness — Practicable for Artillery — Communication between the Passes — Selimno and Pravadi Defiles — Chipkieu Defile — Aïdos Defile.

November 14. BIDDING farewell to our friendly host, Mr. Häggermann, whom we had the satisfaction to see in a state of convalescence, we left Shumla for Constantinople.

Our intended march was by Pravadi and Aïdos, in order to follow the footsteps of the Russian army, in its passage across the Balcan. From this plan we had been strongly dissuaded by the Archbishop of Shumla. He represented to us, that almost every village on the road had been either burned or razed to the ground; and further, that the plague was raging in the few habitable dwellings. To these disheartening representations was added the gloomy state of the weather. It had been for a week very unsettled, and the night before our departure it had snowed incessantly: but we sallied forth, with a determination that no common obstacles should deter us from our plan.

We had scarcely passed the gates of the town, when, in addition to the snow, a fog came on, so very dense, that we could not distinguish any object at five yards' distance. The Pravadi road was scarcely visible, from the heavy fall of snow. Nature seemed to have thrown a veil over the features of the country which we were desirous of seeing,

consequently our principal object would not be attainable. We began to reflect on the difficulty we should have in finding our way; and on the slight probability of shelter at this inclement season. Moreover, Lord Dunlo was extremely unwell, and suffering alike from external and internal cold. The prospect of death from frost and hunger stared us in the face. These considerations were stronger than our curiosity. We reluctantly gave up all thoughts of following the Russian line of march; and turned our horses' heads towards Carnabat, which lies about twenty miles W.S.W. of the town of Aïdos.

The soil of the country appears in general very rich; but for want of cultivation is mostly covered with brambles. Its features are very beautiful. The chain of the Balcan was before us; and on both sides the Shumla mountains, presenting abrupt cliffs, rising in exact level with each other. To our left appeared the thickly wooded hills under which the first rencontre of the Russians and Turks on the

day of Koulefcheh took place. From a kind of table-land we descended into a low plain: here we forded the river Pravadi—broad, but not deep.

Three hours from Shumla, is the ruined village of Dragoi, a monument of the devastation which this part of Turkey experienced about forty years ago.

It was destroyed in the last century, by Giaour Imaum, a celebrated mountain robber and outlaw, whose predatory deeds are often the theme of an Osmanli's conversation. Of his talents for destruction, we saw many proofs in our journey through this province.

We kept for some miles along the base of the Balcan, and then ascended through a forest of well-grown trees. At a narrow part of the pass, a few deserted temporary huts, and some palisades, bespoke an attempt at defence. In speaking of the narrowness of this pass, I do not mean any peculiar defile in the mountain; but that the trees, which would have been the principal obstacle to an

assailing army, were not much cleared away. At the summit of this hill, a breast-work had been thrown up, which was pierced for five guns, forming all the defence we could perceive of this pass of the Balcan. Hence we descended gradually, till we came to a broad open valley, which separates the hill we had just quitted, from one somewhat higher.

The snow of the morning had changed into a hard frost. The sun was just setting: we had not met a human being: all was silent and desolate around us. We strained our eyes in vain for the appearance of a village; and we looked forward to nothing better than a bivouac in the Balcan, at this most inclement season. At length we arrived at the village of Chalcovatch, and had the mortification to find it had been entirely deserted. From this village, as from most others in Bulgaria, the ravages of war had compelled its peaceable inhabitants to fly with their movable property. The shells of houses alone remained; and nearly all of these had been pulled down, to

furnish fuel for such travellers as had preceded us on the road. To one house, which did not appear in so bad a state as the others, we bent our steps: it was full of Turkish women; part of a caravan crossing the Balcan. To have entered this habitation, would have ensured us a worse fate than a bivouac in the mountains—so we resumed our search; and at last fixed on a hovel, wretched enough to be sure, but pre-eminent over its neighbours, by being furnished with a door. The necessity for exertion alleviated our cheerless prospect. We all set to work to collect wood for fire, and returned laden with pieces of the hedges which surrounded the neighbouring huts. We were all too fatigued to go in search of water, and were content to boil our coffee in snow, which, to add to our misfortunes, spoiled our coffee-pot in the melting. Our chamber, which was about twelve feet square and six high, was formed by planks, so rudely nailed together that we had a distinct view of the frosty moon and snowy

mountains through the crannies which admitted the bleak wind to our aching bones. The fire-place, which occupied one-eighth of the room, oppressed us almost as much by the cold draught of air that came down its chimney, as it warmed us by the fire in its hearth, blowing, like the man in the fable, hot and cold with the same breath.

November 15. As we had no warm bed to render our rising an effort, we were on our journey again by day-light, and urging our poor beasts (who like ourselves had fared but badly) to re-commence their labours.

The valley in which Chalcovatch is situated is two or three miles broad, and seems to run east and west, dividing the Balcan into two ranges.

On arriving at the base, we met a string of covered waggons, which continued the whole length of our day's march. We saw, in the course of the morning, at least five thousand of these conveyances, each of them containing a family. Their inmates were natives of Ibrail

and its neighbourhood. They had fled at the approach of the Russian army, and were now returning homewards, on receiving intimation of the peace. They had retired in the interval to Babadagh, where they had fallen in with some of their own tribes. The greater portion of these people had the regular Turkish features; but there were some who did not speak Turkish, and whose thick lips, bridgeless noses, and little eyes, plainly shewed that they belonged to that hideous tribe of Tartars which inhabits the Crimea.

It was not without reason that we had complained of cold in the night. The frost was the hardest I ever remember. On nearly every mountain stream that we crossed, the ice was strong enough to bear our horses' weight: in many places, it remained unbroken by the wheels of the peasants' waggons. The road was so slippery that we were obliged to dismount. In the course of the descent, ourselves and horses fell several times.

We met on the road a kiahya bey, or

deputy governor of some pashalik. He was attended by a numerous and well-armed retinue. The rear of his equipage was brought up by a Turkish gilded carriage, with trelliced windows, drawn by four horses. In this vehicle was a lady, escorted by a black eunuch.

In a small valley, in the mountains, we crossed the Delli Kamchick, at this time an inconsiderable stream, but often, in the winter months, a dangerous torrent. Mustapha told us, that some time ago he was crossing the Kamchick at this place, in the train of some ambassador, when one of the party, a Frank servant, was drowned.

On the north bank are two or three villages, at present deserted. When the stream became much swollen, it was customary for the inhabitants to furnish rafts, placed on a platform, which was mounted on four very high wheels; upon this, travellers' baggage was transported across, while the beasts were made to swim over.

Half an hour after crossing the Kamchick,

we came upon a plain, occasionally interrupted by rising grounds, which forms the southern boundary of the Pravadi pass.

Here, then, we have completed a journey across two passes of a chain of mountains which the Turks had considered as impregnable barriers to an invading army; and the only attempts at defence are the paltry field-works which I have described. Yet Mahmoud, whose military talents are, by some, held in such high estimation, has been upwards of twenty years on the Ottoman throne, during which time, his country has been involved in two wars by the same enemy, who had advanced to the base of the Balcan in four separate campaigns. The Selimno and Pravadi passes are two of the principal thoroughfares of his dominions, yet they are not fortified. Did his sublime highness imagine, that the roads over which the merchant carts pass every day, would (unassisted by artificial obstacles) be inaccessible to the battering train of a foreign foe? His panegyrists, perhaps, will answer the question.

But there is another point to be considered, with regard to the military character of the sultan; and that is, his utter ignorance of the weakness of this chain of mountains.

There is, I believe, a very prevalent impression, that an invading army would have to encounter great difficulties in crossing the Balcan, if the natural advantages of its position had been properly improved. It is with some deference I offer my reasons for differing from the general opinion. If they produce the conviction upon the mind of the reader that they do upon my own, he will have a very mean opinion of the sultan's military talents, and will not be inclined to grant the high credit the Russians assume to themselves for the passage of the Balcan; but rather feel surprised that they did not accomplish this feat in the war which lasted from 1809 to 1812, or in the late campaign of 1828.

The first military questions of importance are, the nature of the roads, and their general practicability for artillery and other wheeled

carriages. The observations relative to the Selimno pass are equally applicable to that of Pravadi. The soil is admirably adapted for the formation of roads, and trees would form nearly the only obstacles to an invading army. With respect to the general practicability of the road, it would seem as though the five thousand clumsy waggons of the Tartars, and the light four-in-hand vehicle of the Turk, which we met this morning, had arrived expressly to shew how trifling, even at this season of the year, is the achievement so loudly boasted of by the Russians.

Another and an important facility in the passage of the Balcan, is the ease with which a communication could be carried on between the several passes, the whole country being traversed by roads in every direction.

The advantage that would arise from this, to an invading army, is obvious. It would enable it to vary its attack, thereby to divide the attention, and consequently to weaken the force, of the defending army, who would

be obliged to be on the alert in so many places at once.

As to the other difficulties, such as, the narrowness of the defiles, or the ruggedness of the ascents, if I were to compare them with what I have myself seen, I should say, that in my journey from India, in 1824, from the period I commenced the ascent of the Hamerine mountains, which bound the Pashalik of Bagdad, to the time of my arriving at Bakoo, on the shores of the Caspian sea, there was scarcely a day's march that would not have presented greater obstructions to an army than either Selimno or the Pravadi passes. This observation is equally applicable to the journey in Asia Minor, the account of which terminates the present work.

With regard to the other passes of the Balcan, they are, as far as I could learn, of the same general character as those that I visited.

The highest and most difficult of access to artillery, is that from Adrianople to Rout-

chouk, by Ternova, commonly called the Chipkieu Balcan. It is by this route, that General Valentini considered a corps of the Russian army ought to be sent, while the main body should advance on Shumla. The only difficulty here would arise from the steepness of the ascent; but this might be easily remedied, as there is no part of Chipkieu pass, over which guns and ammunition-waggons could not be conveyed, with the assistance of draft buffaloes,—animals so easily to be procured throughout these countries.

With regard to the Aïdos defile, which was adopted by the Russians in the late campaign, I am informed by Mustapha, who has frequently crossed every pass of the Balcan, and who is a shrewd and competent observer, that there were greater facilities in that passage than in any of the others to which I have alluded.

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CHAPTER II.

Village of Dobral — Breakfast — Turkish Depredations — The Country—Bulgarians' Heads uncovered—A Russian Commandant — Carnabat — Russian Roguery — The Commandant's Incivility — Depopulated Country — Carapounhar — Mustapha and a Russian Soldier—Unpopularity of the Russians — Fakih — A Bulgarian Hostess — Kibillerah — Sleep in a Barn.

On quitting the Balcan, we came to the Bulgarian village of Dobral, formerly a station for post-horses. Roofless cottages were the first objects that met our anxious eyes; but our alarm at this unwelcome sight was dissipated by the smoke of a chimney, which we hailed as the happy omen of an inhabited dwelling, the first we had seen since leaving Shumla.

Last night's short commons, and this morning's frosty march over the mountains, had

whetted our appetites to such a degree, that we did ample justice to the fried eggs and onions, and to the sour wine, which were placed before us. So attentive were we to the calls of hunger, that we had scarcely a glance to bestow on the very pretty faces of the female inmates of the cottage.

The peasants here complained, not of the depredations of the Russians, but of those of the Turkish foragers.

From Dobral to Carnabat, the road led through an open fertile plain, though but little cultivated, except in vineyards, with which, in general, the slopes of the mountains towards the south are clothed.

In the middle of this plain is a road in a north-westerly direction, leading to Cazan. Several villages are also observable.

The last six miles before you come to Carnabat, are over a dead flat, rich in pasture, and apparently subject to overflow from a small river which runs through it. To the east the plain is bounded by the horizon; to the west

the sea is visible at the distance of nine miles; and a rising ground, on the slope of which the minarets of Carnabat are seen, bounds the plain to the south.

Immediately under Carnabat, were some temporary huts, occupied by a party of Cossacks.

At the entrance of the town, the carcasses of numerous dogs which had been frozen to death, bespoke the severity of the preceding night's frost. Those which remained alive upon the dung-heaps at the entrance of the town, were too torpid with cold to give the usual warning of a stranger's arrival.

The town was occupied by a large body of Cossacks. We were conducted by one of the men to the commandant. We found him in the court-yard of his house, giving orders to a host of Bulgarian inhabitants, who had adopted the Russian ceremony of keeping the head uncovered in the presence of a superior; a courtesy for which their shorn poles seemed ill adapted on a frosty eve, though it might

suit well enough their Muscovite brethren, whose shaggy locks, well defended by dirt, seemed insensible to the attack of the external air.

The commandant was either exceedingly uncivil, stupid, or tipsy. He appeared to have all the three failings combined; for he continued for half an hour to peruse our Russian passports, with a vacancy of countenance that would have been amusing enough, if we had not been all the while shivering in the cold, awaiting his sapient fiat. His appearance in this occupation reminded me of Liston in the character of Van Bet, attempting to read his despatches. Like him, he seemed to think "'twould puzzle a conjurer" to decipher them. There is no knowing how long we should have been kept in our freezing attitude, if it had not been for the timely arrival of a Polish officer, whose acquaintance we had made at Adrianople. He immediately sent a Cossack with us to assign us quarters; and thereby saved the commandant, as well as

ourselves, from a continuance of a very disagreeable interview.

Every comfort is relative; the damp floor of our night's lodging was a paradise, when compared with the wretchedness of our last resting-place.

Carnabat contains about six hundred houses: the population, previous to the war, consisted of four thousand souls, nearly an equal proportion of Turks and Bulgarians; but the Mahometans had all fled, and their shops were occupied by Russian sutlers and camp-followers. Lord Dunlo and myself were induced by hunger to enter one of the Russian shops, where we ate a few musty rusks, and paid for them with a piece of gold; but when we asked for our change, we heard, very much to our discomfort and surprise, that we had eaten the value of our money. The piece we had given would almost have purchased the contents of the shop; but it was useless to expostulate, and we were too much ashamed to make a complaint to our Polish acquaintance;

so we were fain to digest our spleen and rusks together. For my fellow-traveller there was some excuse for being so imposed upon; but for myself there was none; because, having travelled through Russia, I should have known the quantum of reliance that ought to be placed on Russian honesty.

November 16. A long march before us, and the uncertainty of accommodation, made us wish to start early in the morning; but though we sent several times for our passports, we could not get them from the commandant. Tired at the delay, I put on my uniform, went myself to the commandant's, and forcing my way through a levy of Bulgarian suitors, I adapted my manners to my company, and seating myself on a chair which he had not the civility to offer me, begged that I might have my passport immediately. Experience had taught me that blustering would have its effect with this people. It did so on this occasion; and in a short time we were again in the saddle.

In passing through the town, we were regaled with the novel sight of a leg of mutton, which Mustapha took the precaution to purchase; and lucky for us was it that he did so, as we should have fared but poorly without this assistance.

The rising ground by which we quitted Carnabat is a bare, chalky soil.

As the minarets of the town disappeared from our view under the brow of the hill, we lost sight of every vestige of an inhabited country, until, in two hours and a half, we came to the village of Beglerbanee. Here the houses were all unroofed, no smoke issued from the chimneys, nor was there any sign of population. The country is a succession of slopes, with vineyards and corn-fields occasionally visible, and for the most part abounding in dwarf oak. In three hours and a half we came to Beg Mahale, containing about two hundred houses, and exhibiting a well-cultivated neighbourhood: an hour further, the Bulgarian village of Jumalli, and then Granalli, none

of which places are down on any map; as Mustapha, with his usual obstinacy, had taken us out of the direct road, in the futile hope of making a short cut.

By sheer accident we stumbled, towards evening, on the town of Carapounhar, our destination for the night; passing on our way through a rich pasture land, thickly wooded mountains, and well-watered valleys.

Carapounhar is situated in a valley watered by the Granack: its rich pastures probably recommended it to Count Diebitsch for a large portion of cavalry. Some heavy battering guns were here, and Cossacks and other cavalry, to the number of four thousand.

This military force was a bad omen of a night's lodging.

We were for two hours after dark wandering in search of shelter from the bitter coldness of the night, and occupied in the interval with reflections of no very agreeable nature. Setting aside the immediate personal inconvenience to ourselves, we could not help feeling

that our unfortunate beasts could not carry us much further without food; and we knew we had no assistance to expect from the Philistines by whom we were surrounded. Our good fortune, which had never entirely deserted us, however much it had occasionally threatened to do so, at length conducted us to a cottage, where, by dint of promises of reward, and by assurances that we were not Russians, we succeeded in sharing the apartment of a Bulgarian family, and of procuring some Indian corn for our cattle, which, in the morning, we found they had not touched.

At midnight we were disturbed by a knocking at the door; we opened it, and found a poor Russian soldier, who said that he was starving, and begged we would give him a morsel of bread. Mustapha cut off a large slice from our loaf; but before he gave it to him, he made him bless the Turks and their prophet for the donation,—a ceremony which the hungry applicant performed with divers

solemn crossings, and with much apparent fervour.

If we might consider the feeling of our cottagers as a sample of that which actuated the other inhabitants of the village, the Russians had become too well known here to be very popular: their Bulgarian brethren appeared to feel, that the future prospect of the benefit by their visit was not sufficiently clear, to obliterate from their minds the present conviction of inconvenience, arising from the system of free quarters which the necessities of the army obliged them to adopt.

We heard at this place, as elsewhere, bitter complaints against the Russian commissariat department.

November 17. The morning presented a change of weather, threatening snow, which soon afterwards commenced, and then turned to rain. The day's stage was from Carapounhar to Kibillerah; the road a continuous forest mountain for sixteen miles. Emerging from this, we descended a hill, and entered

the village of Fakih, once a post station; but, since the advance of the Russians, the house attached to it had been rased to the ground. We halted to breakfast at a Bulgarian cottage. The attractions were, a beautiful young hostess, with a Magdalen cast of features; and, what I much fear we admired more at the time, an excellent breakfast, consisting of a stew mixed with fine herbs, that would have done honour to the *artiste* of any country, and a plentiful supply of fried eggs, butter-milk, cheese, and wine.

It would have been gratifying to have let the reader suppose that our hostess was as good as she was pretty; but candour compels me to say, that a certain little mercenary propensity very much destroyed the illusion which her beauty had excited.

From Fakih to Kibillerah, we passed through a well-watered, wooded, and productive country, the smiling appearance of which was at variance with the numerous carcasses of horses, bullocks, and camels, and the occa-

sional graves of men, which lined each side of the road.

From the time of setting out, the rain had continued almost without intermission; so that when we arrived at Kibillerah we were thoroughly drenched. The village was but small; and Russian troops were pouring in on all sides: every house was as full of soldiers as it could hold. After some trouble, we obtained shelter in a temporary barn; but the building was formed of rafters covered with thatch, and so full of chopped straw that we did not dare to light a fire. Our dinner was a small slice of mutton a-piece, (the last meat we were to taste for some days to come,) and a hunch of black bread.

We admitted as fellow-lodgers for the night two Bulgarian peasants. They had come from Rodosto with some skins of *raki* for sale; but, fearful of being plundered by the Cossacks, they had determined to return home in the morning.

As we were afraid to keep our light, we

threw ourselves, in our wet clothes, on the straw, and slept soundly till the morning, in spite of the manifold attempts of the Russians to dislodge us.

CHAPTER III.

Theft — Troops on a March — Mustapha's short Cut — Cossack Marauders — Eski Pylos — Petra — King Constantine — Cossacks — Lose our Way — Tekeh Assulbegli — Dangerous Adventure — Homely Fare.

November 18. In the morning we missed a pipe and part of our saddlery. This was being let off very cheap, considering the neighbourhood in which we had been.

We arose in almost utter hopelessness of finding a place to lay our heads in at night. The dreariness of such a prospect was not enlivened by the appearance of the weather: it was one of November's worst days — a cold drizzling mist, which, when it did partially dissipate, by no means cleared away our uncomfortable forebodings, as it revealed to us a large party of Russians. They were accompanied by a number of baggage and

ammunition waggons, drawn by bullocks, buffaloes, and horses, which were struggling through a deep mud, urged on by the incessant lash of the Russian drivers.

The cattle were nearly starved, it having been Count Diebitsch's policy to exhaust the pasture of the country, while his magazines in Bourgaz were overflowing with forage; in order, as it was said, that his retreat might not be harassed by the army of the Pasha of Scutari.

We learned from the Russians that there were many more behind. The first part of our march lay along a stony valley, forming the bed of a mountain torrent, which we continued to cross at intervals.

The country was an open plain, bounded by well-wooded hills. Numerous villages were visible, and there was a greater appearance of cultivation than is generally to be seen in this province.

After two hours' uncomfortable ride, we came to a Bulgarian village, where we break-

fasted, and where our breakfast was as unpalatable as our reception was ungracious.

Mustapha went to a house to purchase corn, but was stopped by a Cossack officer. I galloped up to the rescue. The appearance of my epaulettes induced the fellow to loose his hold, and to treat us with a little more respect.

Our meal over, we resumed our march. Shower succeeded shower; at length, a pelting storm gave us a complete ducking. My horse, and one of those carrying baggage, had cast their shoes, and went limping along in a most pitiable manner: and, to complete our misfortunes, Mustapha, whose intimate knowledge of the country had more than once misled us, took us this day into a labyrinth of mountains, where our wanderings twice brought us to the same spot, and might have cost us a night's bivouac in the hills, had we not fortunately fallen in with a party of Turks, who were driving a few head of cattle before them. We understood from them that they

were natives of some village in the neighbourhood of Kirk Ecclesia, which they had quitted on the advance of the Russians. They were now returning home, on hearing that the infidels were about to evacuate their country; and had taken this circuitous route, to avoid the marauding parties of Cossacks, who, they told us, had carried off great quantities of cattle from their countrymen.

After various windings, we arrived at the base of a conical-shaped mountain, which is crowned by the highly picturesque ruin of an ancient castle. On the side of the same hill is a pretty Greek village, which the inhabitants call Eski Πύλος, or ancient Pylos. The castle on the top we understood to have been the work of one of the early Byzantine kings. We had some thoughts of halting here for the night; but the appearance of a party of Cossacks altered our determination.

In an hour's march from Eski Pylos, over a rocky country, we arrived at the village of Petra, so called from the abundance of stone

in its neighbourhood. We overtook, on the road, a Bulgarian peasant, returning home with his cattle, which had been employed in conveying some baggage of the Russians, who were now going towards the Balcan to take up their winter quarters. The fellow was in high spirits, which appeared to have derived some elevation from those he had drank. He was very conversible; and repeatedly asked me when King Constantine, meaning the Russian Archduke, intended to take possession of his new dominions.

We were lodged for the night at a Greek cottage, and slept, as usual, on the bare ground.

Our supper this evening was a greasy pilau of rice, and a cup of cold water.

November 19. A day of thunder, lightning, and rain—one continued storm: such weather I never remember to have experienced in any of the numerous countries I have visited. Our abba cloaks, which would have defied all ordinary attacks of the elements, were at length fain to yield, and the water had

so completely soaked into them, that their weight caused a painful aching to our shoulders, and added greatly to the fatigue and discomforts of this miserable day's march.

Not far from the village of Petra we met a party of Cossacks, driving before them a great number of bullocks and horses. In reply to our inquiries respecting these cattle, the peasants told us that the Cossacks had stolen them.

In three hours we came in sight of Kirk Klesia (Εκκλησια), which we left a mile to our right; the green ammunition waggons of the Russians, on the outskirts of the town, being a sufficient hint for us not to think of seeking shelter there.

The country around was completely flooded; the roads were one mass of tenacious mud; and it was with the greatest difficulty that our lame and jaded beasts could be propelled forward.

By gaining the high road of Kirk Klesia, we might have gone on direct enough; but Mustapha's usual obstinacy led us by a path

which, as heretofore, was not the right one. It brought us, in the course of time, to a village called Tekeh Assulbegli, in which was a Turkish monastery. The word *tekeh* signifies a place of repose; but alas! it was not so to us; for we went from house to house, and were refused admittance at all. We sat dripping and shivering on our horses, vainly imploring shelter from a party of Turks, who were coolly smoking their pipes, and listening to our petition with truly national apathy and silence.

An hour further on was the village of Lehfejee: it was almost entirely in ruins, and without inhabitants. After a long search, we found a wretched untenanted hovel, with a fire-place, but without windows. We then impressed a Bulgarian into our service; but had scarcely made a fire, when a Cossack entered the room, and desired us to let him share our quarters. This was quite out of the question; for, independently of the intolerable stench we should have had to endure

from his neighbourhood, our apartment was so small that there was not room for another person to lie down. We therefore declined the pleasure of his society; upon which he went out, and soon returned with several others, who rushed in and threatened us with ejectment. The spokesman of this gang, who told us he was the officer of the party, grasped both his pistols, half drew them from his girdle, and returning them again, struck their butts violently together. He then half drew his sword, and replaced it in the scabbard in the same emphatic manner. Unluckily, or perhaps luckily, as blood would probably have been spilt, our pistols were in a valise. We had nothing to do but to appear unmoved at the ruffian's attempt at intimidation. I had put on my uniform during the absence of the first visiter, and I now pointed to my epaulettes, and repeated the word *maïor* (major) several times in a threatening tone. This, and the production of a Russian passport, appeared to have more effect than any other

remonstrance that we could have used. To have robbed or murdered a traveller, would have been merely following their calling; but to have offered violence to an officer, was an offence that, with their military notions, they hardly dared to commit. The latter part of this interview was marked by the half-bullying and half-respectful manner of the ring-leader, who sneaked out; and the rest of the gang soon after followed their brother rascal, relieving us from an extremely disagreeable adventure, as also from an intolerable effluvia, a national peculiarity of this nasty race.

It is the unanimous opinion of our party, that it was the intention of these men to rob, and perhaps to murder us, to avoid detection; but if they had intended merely to dispossess us of our quarters, our condition would have been bad enough, as we should have been turned out of doors in our soaked clothes, and exposed to the extreme severity of the weather; for the rainy day was succeeded by

a very severe frost at night, which would, in all probability, have lulled us to a sleep, from which we should have awoke no more.

Rice stewed in grease was our food, and the not quite pure element our beverage,—sorry diet for men in hard exercise and robust health.

The fare was not such as to induce us to loiter over our meal; so, after making some preparations to dry our clothes, we lay down and tried to sleep.

Towards midnight we were disturbed by a violent knocking for admission. Fearing that our frail door would give way to the forcible attacks made upon it, I opened it, and received the intruder with a drawn sword, which I held to his breast. The savage was not so entirely taken with the appearance of our quarters as to try to force his way through such a barrier, and he therefore very prudently thought proper to decamp.

CHAPTER IV.

Continued Difficulties — Ford a dangerous Torrent — Koombarlari — An Impassable Torrent — Greek Villagers — Gaudy Dress of the Women — Contrast between Greeks and Bulgarians — Lodging — Dinner — Rest — We cross the Torrent — Character of Roumelian Torrents — Iwalleh — Louleh Bourgaz, deserted by its Inhabitants — Consequences of the War — Turkish Troops — Arrival of Ibrahim Pasha — Difficulties — Meat not purchasable — Horses not procurable — State of our Surijee and Cattle — Russian Deserters — Anecdote of the late Capitan Pasha.

November 28. Our difficulties were not yet at an end, as half an hour's march brought us to the brink of a mountain torrent. The road to the ford by which it was usually passed lay through a thick wood, but the whole valley was overflowed; before we could reach the natural channel, the water was over the flaps of our saddles. We went both up and down

the stream, in the hope of finding a fordable place, but each was more formidable than the first we had attempted. While we were thus employed, a clump of spears revealed to us a party of Cossacks, who immediately made towards us. Availing themselves of the occasional situation of the road, they so placed themselves as to divide our party, one being between each of us, with one in the front, another in our rear, and the rest of the party on each side. The whole arrangement was performed with the most robber-like dexterity. Mustapha was closely questioned as to my really being a military man; and his answer, that I was a *maïor*, seemed to have sufficient weight with them, as they did not attempt to molest us. Their intention, as well as ours, was to cross the stream; and we all rode to the water side to make another attempt. Several Cossacks went, one after the other, into the water, trying to sound the passage with their spears. After making many fruitless essays, they abandoned their pro-

ject, and turned off in a contrary direction; while we proceeded onwards, determined to run any risk in crossing the water, rather than again trust ourselves in the hands of these barbarous marauders.

At last we saw a village on the opposite side: a little lower down was a waterfall, and near it a mill. The rush of waters was tremendous; but inhospitality, desolation, want, and a band of ruffians, in our rear, made us determine to advance at all hazards. The villagers on the opposite side encouraged us to proceed. Minas, our surijee, in general a lazy, disobedient, and impertinent rascal, had had enough of his last night's quarters not to wish to return to them; he therefore prepared to obey our command to cross. He missed the channel in the first attempt, and was nearly carried away. Our horses were weak, lame, and tired; but there was no time for deliberation—the stream was increasing every moment. Again Minas led the van, with our party in file bringing up the rear, the villagers directing

us by signs rather than by words, as, from the noise of the torrent, they could not be heard. We were directed to keep close to our saddles, as the least unsteadiness would precipitate us into the yawning gulf; and at length, to our unspeakable joy, we found ourselves on the opposite bank, with no other inconvenience than a thorough soaking to ourselves and baggage.

At this village, which is called Koombarlari, and is inhabited by Greeks, we sat down to a breakfast of plain bread, cheese, and water—the foragers had carried off all the wine: as to milk, neither here, nor in any other place in the whole course of our tour, could we procure any.

The difficulty we had just surmounted, only led to a greater; there was another and larger stream yet to cross: we procured a guide to shew the way, but the bridge by which it was to be passed was three feet under water. We remained the whole day on the brink of the stream; but Mustapha would not let us

attempt the passage, and we were obliged to return to the house where we had breakfasted.

Eski Pylos, Petra, and Koombarlari, belong to a cluster of Greek villages, the first we had seen since our departure from Adrianople; the inhabitants we met with having been always either Turks or Bulgarians.

The dress of the women here is exceedingly striking and varied. They generally wear blue gowns, yellow petticoats, green bodies, and striped aprons; their hair is twisted or plaited, and surmounted by the small scarlet skull-cap; on the head, neck, and arms, are several gold or silver ornaments.

This variety of colours is highly at variance with the homely uniform dark gown worn by the Bulgarian females.

Indeed, in many other respects, there is a great contrast between the Greek and Bulgarian; and this is the more remarkable, seeing that they inhabit the same country, and profess the same religion.

They speak different languages, and do not

intermarry with one another. The Greek is vain, noisy, fond of innovation, and anxious for improvement: the Bulgarian is modest, quiet, devotedly attached to his national habits, and content to live in the bliss of ignorance. "Let us see other countries, and improve our manners," say the Greeks. "It is against our custom," is the constant reply of the Bulgarian to any proposal of change. The Greek has the gaiety of a Frenchman; the Bulgarian the phlegm of a German.

Of these opposite humours of two nations of the same church, we witnessed numerous examples during our residence at Adrianople: nothing could shew the extremes more strongly than their demeanour on any feast-day, which was, of course, common to both people. In the house of the Greek, songs, music, and the busy hum of voices, were to be heard: in the dwelling of his less volatile neighbour, a mournful silence reigned.

Our lodging was neither comfortable nor elegant: it was a kind of loft made of wood,

and used at once as a dwelling, a store for corn, and a place for drying and curing sheep-skins. It was without a window, the inlets of light and air were the door and chimney, and innumerable apertures in the roof and walls, not to mention several large holes in the floor, which looked into a pig-sty, and served the family for a drain. This plentiful ventilation was insufficient to dissipate the stench of the half-dried skins, or of the grunting occupants of the ground floor.

The lodging, such as it was, was freely and kindly offered by its poor occupants, and seemed preferable to the earthen apartment, next door to the pigs, in which this squalid and unhealthy-looking family were quartered.

We made a good dinner of rice and *bourreck*, a slim cake, a yard in diameter, almost floating in grease, and sweetened with treacle —by no means an unpalatable dish to hungry men.

Wrapping ourselves in our cloaks and blankets, we then prepared for the night,

which was setting in with an intense frost. We all slept soundly; once only was I disturbed, and that was by a certain little nameless animal, no uncommon inmate of a Greek house.

November 21. Refreshed by our night's rest, by coffee, and another bourreck, upon which we breakfasted, we proceeded on our journey.

The torrent, which yesterday was impassable, had, during the night, subsided into its own channel, and when we crossed it was scarcely up to our horses' knees; but the appearance of the country which had been overflowed, proved to us that, had we attempted the passage, we must inevitably have been lost, as we should have sunk into a deep sand; and the labyrinth of trees that encompassed the stream was so thick as to prevent all possibility of escape.

The difficulties that obstructed our passage yesterday, and the ease with which we crossed the stream this morning, are characteristic of

the Roumelian torrents—one day an impassable river, the next an inconsiderable stream.

On emerging from the valley, we entered an open plain, where a few sickly, stunted oaks were the only marks of vegetation. It was nearly destitute of inhabitants. The weather was as dreary as the prospect. The ground was covered with snow, and the wind blew painfully cold.

At a village called Iwalleh, we fell in with a blacksmith, the first we had met with since we left Shumla. We stood very much in need of his assistance, as none of our horses had a complete set of shoes, and they were all lame for the want of them. The blacksmith, however, proved of no use, as there was not a piece of iron procurable in the whole village.

In a march of five hours, we came to the vineyards which mark the entrance to Louleh Bourgaz. We entered the town over a handsome bridge; and passing under an arch surmounted by a dome, came to a spacious and

well-constructed bazaar, all of which are the works of the grand vizier Kieuperli, the celebrated minister of Mahomet the Fourth.

The town contains about a thousand houses, but, with the exception of a few tobacconists' shops, they were all closed, padlocked, and deserted by their inhabitants.

When the Turks fled from the town, at the approach of the Russians, the houses were despoiled, and the inhabitants pillaged, lest their property should fall into the hands of the invaders. Any thing that remained was, in like manner, carried off by the Russians, when they evacuated the place. Such is the history of nearly every town in which a change of masters has taken place owing to the war; the inhabitants scarcely knowing which to fear most, and finding an enemy in either party. In Ianboli, Selimno, and Carnabat, all the Turks had fled, and rayahs alone remained where the towns had fallen into the hands of the Russians; whereas, in Osman Bazaar, Derbent, and Juma, towns in possession of the

Turks, the rayahs had been expelled by main force.

Here, at Bourgaz, the Turks had quitted their homes, in the first instance, from the Russians, and now, nearly all the rayahs were escaping from the dreaded vengeance of the Turks. The few that remained were in too much doubt and anxiety about their own fate, to afford us either information or assistance.

Turkish troops were pouring in every minute, and were hastening to occupy the quarters of the Russians, whose names still remained chalked on the doors.

Soldiers were the only passengers in the streets; every thing was in bustle, turmoil, and confusion.

We came just in time to witness the arrival of Ibrahim Pasha, our Rodosto friend. He was attended by a party of high-capped dellis, and a numerous retinue of kavasses, with ferocious mustachios, and having arms stuck in their girdles so as to form a crescent of embossed pistol-butts and dagger-hilts.

In a Turkish town, the burden of one pasha's visit is considered a sufficient calamity; but in this instance, two other pashas, Halish, and another of two tails, were to follow on the heels of him whose entrance we had witnessed.

We had looked forward to our arrival at Bourgaz as the happy termination of all our difficulties; but it proved not so. The khans were as full of soldiers as the streets. It was with great difficulty that we at last succeeded in obtaining a wretched room, eight feet by ten, and scarcely six high; having no fire-place, and with a sheet of paper for a window; a roof full of holes for our shelter above, and the cold ground for our lodging below.

We sent Mustapha out to purchase food: he saw six sheep slaughtered, and offered one hundred paras a pound for that meat which would commonly cost ten. It was for the pasha and his attendants, and the butcher would not let him have it at any price, nor

would he sell him even a small piece of fat, to mix with our rice. Our quarters were so wretched, that we made every attempt to proceed to Chorli, the next stage. No fresh horses were procurable; and our surijee was suffering from a severe intermittent fever, under which he had more than once appeared to sink, from the combined effects of wet, cold, and want of food. It was, therefore, utterly impossible for him to fulfil his stipulated contract, to take us on to Constantinople. As for our poor beasts, they were all nearly dead with the hardships they had undergone. We had no chance but to submit patiently to the intense cold, which, both externally and internally, produced considerable pain.

In the same khan with ourselves were three Russian deserters. Two of them were employed as menials in the service of the pasha; the third was yet free. He appeared to have been an officer, and was in possession of a handsome-looking horse: he had no money, and we heard that, as soon as he

had expended the value of his charger, he would be trusted no longer, and would, in all probability, be obliged to sell himself as a slave, to procure future subsistence. All the three deserters wore the jackets and red caps of the Turkish army, while they retained the boots and other articles of their national uniform.

It speaks but little for the comforts of a Russian camp, that there should be found men who would quit their own army to join such troops as the Turks. I am given to understand that desertion has been very common in this campaign. When I passed through Persia, in 1824, there were numbers of Russian soldiers, particularly in the frontier towns, who were occupied in teaching the Persian army the European tactics, which they were tempted to do by the comparatively superior pay granted them by the enemies of their creed and country.

But the Russians have not the same inducements to abandon their colours, and to

place themselves under the Turkish, as they had under the Persian banners; the religious scruples of the Osmanli at employing infidel aid being greater than those of his brother Mahometan, of a less rigid sect.

During the period of office of the late capitan pasha, there were forty Russians employed in the dock-yards. These men called themselves Mahometans, and their fellow-labourers were for some time not very scrupulous about inquiring into the orthodoxy of their faith. At length it was observed, that these new professors of Mahometanism, though they were very attentive to their worship on Friday, the Mussulman sabbath, would never work on a Sunday; and information of their neglect was given to the capitan pasha. He summoned them before him. "You are infidels, and no true believers," said he; "so I shall send you back to your own country: but I shall not be unmindful of the hospitality of a good Mussulman; I therefore shall take care that you be supplied with clothes, money,

and provisions." The Russians were, for a moment, mute; when one of them exclaimed, "But we shall be flogged to death, if we return." "That's your affair, not mine," was the reply of the sedate Mussulman, as he coolly consigned them to the fate which probably awaited them on reaching their native land.

CHAPTER V.

Breakfast — Take leave of our Surijee — We leave Loulch Bourgaz — Desolate Appearance of the Country — Spot where Mr. Wood was murdered — Dangers of the Journey from Bourgaz to Chorli — Gensaikies — We are nearly frozen to Death — Six Turks die of Cold — A Rayah Prisoner — Chorli — Surijee in Fear of the Bastinado — Sufferings from Cold — Breakfast on Flour and Tallow — Detention — A miserable Object — Mustapha's Want of Humanity — Anecdote of his Cruelty — Observation — Anecdote of Navarin — Numerous Delays in this Journey — Arrival at Constantinople — Happy Meeting with our Friends.

November 22. Our last night's dinner was a pilau and a few white beans, of which we were obliged to eat but sparingly, in order to have sufficient for this morning's breakfast; and after we had dined, we subscribed the

scrapings of our plates together, and boiling them up again this morning, made a meal on the *réchauffé*.

We here took leave of our surijee, who had accompanied us from Adrianople. We had several times expected that he would have died on the road; and it was almost a comfort to us that we left the poor fellow only with an intermittent fever, from which, by former observation, we felt assured that rest and food would restore him.

By a well-timed bribe, we induced one of the surijees who was returning to Chorli with horses that had conveyed part of the pasha's equipage yesterday, to let us have five beasts to carry ourselves and baggage. We started at nine o'clock; and being soon after joined by several other men, bound in the same direction, we all proceeded at a brisk trot; an exceedingly necessary pace, for it was the most intensely cold day that I ever remember in my life.

Hitherto we had passed through countries

laid waste by man's abuse of nature's gifts; we had now to witness the desolation of nature herself. A more wretched-looking country could scarcely present itself, than the barren plain which lies between Bourgaz and Chorli. Here and there was to be seen a tree; but this scanty specimen of vegetation served only to render the landscape more dreary; and the reflection was heightened by the circumstance of one of these trees having been the spot where a barbarous murder was some years ago committed on the person of Mr. Wood, an English traveller, and his Tartar, who lie buried together at a short distance from the place where they met their fate.

According to Mustapha's statement, numbers of persons perish annually on this plain. He says that in the winter months the traveller is frequently overtaken by a violent storm of hail, which no animal can be made to face; the consequence is, that the rider is obliged to go in the direction he is taken; and there being no landmark to guide him, he loses his

way, and in the night falls a victim to the inclemency of the season.

Two hours from Bourgaz, we came to Gensaikies, a chiflik, or Turkish country-house, with a small dependent village attached. Flowing past this place is a small river, which we crossed. Some time ago, a French ambassador and several of his suite were nearly lost, and one of his servants was actually drowned, in this stream.

As long as we could keep at a trot, the sensation of cold, though painfully acute, was not attended with any danger; but towards the latter end of our journey, we were obliged to make frequent halts for the rest of our party: thus, our blood became so stagnant, that it was with great difficulty we could shake off that drowsiness which is, I believe, the forerunner of death from cold. We heard afterwards that a Tartar and five Turkish soldiers had that evening been frozen to death on this same road.

At the outskirts of Chorli we met a Frank

courier travelling with a Tartar, and a prisoner who was escorted by two Turks. He was fastened to the saddle by means of fetters, which were attached to each of his ancles, and passed under the belly of the horse. This mode of binding the prisoner shewed him to be a rayah, as a Mahometan has always a chain fastened to his neck. To these chains there is a padlock, the key of which is kept by the person in charge of the culprit, who can mitigate or increase the irksomeness of his situation. This circumstance of course paves the way to bribery, and induces the guard to sell his forbearance according to the means of the person in custody.

We could not learn the destination of the prisoner. Our party thought it probable that he was going to Demotika, the usual place for defaulters.

At sunset we reached Chorli, a small town built principally of stone: it stands upon an eminence. Preparations seem to have been made to place it in a state of defence, as some

unfinished works were observable on the brow of the hill. From its elevated position, it might have withstood the Russians; but, like other Turkish towns, it became a bloodless conquest to the invaders. The Christian troops remained here fifty days.

Chorli contains eight hundred houses; the sea is visible from the town, bounded by the heights of the island of Marmora, and the Tekirdagh, "round mountain," under which Rodosto lies.

We went in the first instance to the principal khan: it was entirely deserted, and remained the mere shell of a house. We went to another: it was full of troops. At last we took up our quarters in a smaller one, where a wretched hovel, the only one unoccupied, was assigned to us.

We could procure no bread; and sent round to all the cooks' shops for some meat. We eventually succeeded in procuring a small piece, the refuse of a sheep, containing two mouthsful a-piece. It was very acceptable,

however, and we devoured it greedily, as it was the first animal food we had tasted for five days.

In the evening, the surijee who had conducted us hither came to Mustapha, to beg his assistance, and that he would support him in the fabrication of a lie for the post-master, relative to having allowed us to use post-horses. He had, it appears, no right to have taken us at all. He said that had he confessed to having done so, and even paid the money to his master, as on a former occasion, it was against order, and the bastinado would be now, as it had been then, his certain recompense. He argued, therefore, that it would be better to keep the money for the hire of the horses to himself. Mustapha was to tell some plausible story in support of his assertion. As it would save the soles of the poor fellow's feet, we partly connived at the fraud, sheltering ourselves under our ignorance of the Turkish language.

It will be long before I forget the dis-

comfort of this wretched night. Our mud chamber was quite riddled through with holes. The wretched shutters to the windows did not meet within two inches: we tried to stop the interstice with a new sheep-skin, which performed its office so ineffectually, that the snow found its way through the window into our blankets.

November 23. Our breakfast this morning was a cake, called *bourreck*, the component parts of which were flour and tallow. Hungry as we were, the dish was most nauseous; and, remembering that this was the best meal money could procure in a town which was the greatest thoroughfare of European Turkey, we agreed with Mustapha's remark, in German English, that "dis contry go fast to teyful."

We had to experience a worse disappointment than this sorry fare,—a detention for want of horses. There was a Selivri surijee here; but his fear of the bastinado overbalanced the temptation of the bribe we offered to let us use his cattle, his feet being still

sore from the last punishment he had undergone.

As the troops who had occupied the other rooms of the khan were obliged to march this morning, we succeeded to an apartment a shade better than that of the night before.

In the passage leading out of our room was a miserable wretch, with scarcely rags enough to cover him, huddled over a pan of charcoal, and groaning piteously from the intensity of the cold. He was an Arnaout Christian, and had accompanied a Mahometan soldier, a native of the same country, in the capacity of servant, to Chorli.[1] He was by trade a brazier; and being desired by his master to mend his coffee-pot, he stated that he had no materials, and consequently that he was unable to comply. The refusal irritated his lord: the poor fellow perceived it, and attempted to escape; but the other pursuing him, exclaimed, "It is you cursed Christians who are the cause of all our troubles;" and, as he spoke, he hurled a javelin at him, which

entered by his neck and came out at the lower part of his ribs. The Turk left the wounded man the next day, without troubling himself further about his fate. The Greek church of Chorli have since supplied him with a small pittance, on which, together with such donations as he occasionally receives from the passing visiters of the khan, he contrives to drag on a wretched existence.

The sufferings of this poor Arnaout moved our compassion: we wished to relieve him, but were violently opposed by Mustapha, who, in the despotic country he had adopted, had lost all the feelings of humanity which he might have been supposed to derive from the land of his birth.

An instance of this is shewn in an anecdote which he told of himself to my friend, Captain Mangles, R.N., and to the Honourable Captain Irby, who travelled together to the shores of the Dead Sea, and in whose service this man was at the time.

At the battle of the Pyramids, Mustapha,

in an encounter with a Frenchman, cut off his hand. The poor disabled man fell on his knees, and holding up his bleeding stump, implored hard for his life. According to the brutal custom of the Turks, the price given for an enemy's head was twelve dollars. With mercy in one scale, and gratification of avarice in the other, what renegade would demur which of the two to choose? Mustapha did not; but letting fall his uplifted yatagan, he struck off his victim's head, and carried it to his chief for the promised reward.

Mustapha's conduct shews one of the consequences of the system that used to degrade Turkish warfare: I am not aware that heads are bought by the government as formerly. A Russian general told me that the Cossacks thought it a very good old custom, and that their officers had occasionally some difficulty in restraining them from the habits they used to practise when allies of the Porte. The great Prince de Ligne was wont to observe, that this decapitation did no harm to the dead, was often

a benefit to the wounded, and always useful in reducing the coward to the necessity of self-defence.

The veteran's remark was philosophical enough, and proper language to be held to an army in the field; but it does not detract from the barbarism of the custom.

Another remark is suggested by the same anecdote; namely, that cruelty in the governor produces a correspondent feeling in the governed. The man who knows that his own existence is regarded as a thing of nought will be very indifferent to that of his fellow creatures.

This anecdote reminds me of an observation I heard bearing upon the subject. After the action of Navarin, our sailors were exerting themselves to the utmost to save the lives of those, Mahometans as well as Christians, whose ships had been destroyed. "Let them alone," said a Turk to an English officer, "they will soon be drowned." "But we are anxious to save their lives." "Nonsense!" was the re-

joinder: "you come into our harbour, blow our ships and crews into the air, and then talk of wanting to save lives: the thing is impossible!"

In our walk this morning, we saw a Turkish soldier with his toes frozen off. He told us that many of his comrades were in the same state.

At the outskirts of the town we fell in with an old Bulgarian peasant; he complained bitterly of the Turkish yoke, spoke of the numerous executions which had been perpetrated on his people, and appeared to look forward with most anxious anticipation to the advance of the Russians on Constantinople.

November 24. We were on the road to Selivri at an early hour. About three miles from Chorli, we entered the gardens and vineyards which supply its market. The sea of Marmora was on our right, visible at the distance of about five miles. We passed through a country more thickly peopled as we approached the sea: villages were seen on either

side, but the only one which lay in our road was Kunigli; shortly after leaving which, we proceeded along the sea-shore for several miles, until arrested by a high promontory, which it was necessary to surmount before we entered Selivri. This town, situated partly upon the rapid slope of a hill, and partly upon low ground, occupies the left bank of the Serai river, over which it is entered by a long bridge.

The Turks had lately thrown up three redoubts, which command the bridge, the bay, and the mountain road, by which the town is usually approached.

Since leaving Shumla, Selivri was the first town that we saw uninjured by the war. The Russians had never reached it; and a spur had been given to trade by the large force under Halish Pasha, by which it had been lately occupied.

We were again detained by want of horses; and passed the interval at a Greek's house, where we enjoyed the unusual treat of a good dinner. We rested till midnight, and then

resumed our march. It was pitch dark, and the road was wretched; but we accomplished the journey without an adventure, and at dawn of day reached Buyuk Chekmedjee, where we had once more to wait for a relay of horses.

Bourgaz, Chorli, Selivri, and Chekmedjee, are all post stations leading to every part of civilised Europe; yet, at the first of these towns we were detained eighteen hours, at the second thirty-seven, at the third twelve, and at this last four; making a delay of seventy hours in a distance of about a hundred and twenty miles from the Turkish capital.

A partial thaw, after a considerable degree of snow and frost, had rendered the roads so deep, that we could scarcely make our lame and sorry steeds wade through the tenacious mud. This badness of the paved road, added to the steepness of the hills, renders the country in the immediate neighbourhood of the capital more difficult of access than any other part over which we passed, not excepting the Balcan.

We overtook a regiment of regular troops proceeding to Constantinople. They preserved no order in their march, the front and rear of the column being at least half a mile asunder.

In a march of four miles, we passed through Anbaili: five miles further on, we arrived at Kutchutk Chekmedjee, situated on the east side of the gut by which another small arm of the sea is entered. Here the passports of travellers are examined. It is considered as a position for the defence of the capital, and several batteries commanding the bridge are in consequence thrown up.

It seemed as if difficulties were inclined to dispute with us every inch of the road to Constantinople. We, however, gained the victory at last, and reached the ambassador's palace in safety at four in the afternoon.

The pleasures of good cheer, which almost every one feels, and which few like to confess, could hardly be better appreciated than by Lord Dunlo and myself on this occasion. Our

privations had increased instead of diminished the stock of health with which we commenced our journey. Hunger was our only complaint, and the remedy was before us in the well-stored table of Sir Robert Gordon.

Though not the first mentioned, not the least agreeable of this day's occurrences, was the manner in which our return was welcomed by the ambassador, and our other friends, who had scarcely expected to see us again.

CHAPTER VI.

Fête given to the Turks, on board His Majesty's Ship Blonde — Observations — Remark of Montesquieu — Concert at the British Palace — Dandies of Pera — Corps of Dragomans; their Pride and Intrigue — A Perote Proverb — Greek Beauties — Mrs. M——e — The Seraskier in Love — English Actresses — Abortive Theatricals.

THE conversation at dinner turned upon the fête given, during our absence, on board the Blonde, to the Turkish authorities. Instead of the desultory account of table-talk, I insert the description of a young friend of mine, who was an eye-witness of the scenes he describes.

"Whilst the population of Stamboul, exhausted by heavy contributions, and suffering

every privation from the calamities of a disastrous war, hailed the peace of Adrianople as a respite from their sufferings, the spirits of the Turks were revived by a splendid fête given to them, in celebration of the peace, by the British ambassador, on board the Blonde frigate, which was moored for the occasion in the harbour of Constantinople. Captain Lyons had already, during the course of the summer, by the excellent discipline of his ship, and by the occasional compliments paid to the sultan, with no less taste than discrimination, produced a most favourable impression on his highness's mind; and his boat seldom descended the Bosphorus, without purposely approaching the frigate, near enough to examine the beauty of her attire, and listen to his favourite march.

"A participation in the festivities of the Giaours would have been considered, three years ago, as little less than profanation, even by the most liberal of the Turks; and never before, except in cases of individual curiosity, and those very rare ones, had the turbans of

the Moslems been seen to grace the saloons of Pera.

" A formal invitation to the ball was sent, on the present occasion, by the ambassador, to all the chief dignitaries of the Porte; and whether it was that they were influenced by the high personal character of Sir Robert Gordon, and that veneration for the name of England which has, on many occasions, shone forth amidst their jealousy and mistrust of other powers; or whether they merely complied with the express desire of the sultan, the invitation was accepted by all the members of the divan.

" It rarely happens, at balls given on board ship, that more than one half of the deck is appropriated for the reception of company; but on this occasion, the whole length of the frigate, from stem to stern, presented one beautiful saloon, partially divided off by the masts into four partitions. The lofty ceiling was formed of the flags of all nations, and illuminated by rows of variegated lamps, which

wound round the masts in alternate ornaments of the crown and the sultan's cipher. In the bows of the vessel, rows of orange-trees presented the appearance of an enchanted grove, before which were spread narrow tables with refreshments, and between these and the foremast was chalked out the ball-room. A numerous and excellent band played from a semicircular orchestra round the mast, whilst immediately below them, and round the whole length of the ship, sofas, andrich ottomans, in every varied position, contributed to the splendour of the scene. The part, however, which attracted universal admiration, was the stern of the frigate; for here, where the deck rose gradually to an elevation higher than that of every other part, the narrowing form of the frigate presented to the enraptured sight a highly-finished open tent, illuminated by chandeliers. Down each side of it, and along the back, were rich divans of crimson satin, edged with gold. The floor was covered with an eastern carpet, and the sides were formed of gauze, in wide stripes of

alternate white and pink, the latter in puckers, and producing a singularly soft and elegant effect. The upper part was ornamented with festoons of pink. The back part of the tent, which was of white satin, reflected two gilded ornaments of the crown of England and the sultan's cipher, embroidered in gold, on two blue velvet tiaras, and surmounted by miniature silk flags. Two small figures of angels, with wax-lights, threw a dazzling splendour over the beauties of this enchanting scene, which resembled the mystic bower of some fairy goddess, and terminated the long vista of the saloon. The frigate had been newly painted; and along the whole length of the upper edge of the bulwarks were alternate rows of red and white roses, whilst the ports were occupied by chaste transparencies of different emblems of peace.

"The general effect of this splendid scene must have been very striking, as an aide-de-camp of the Emperor of Russia told me that he had never seen any thing to surpass it, even

in the splendour of the imperial fêtes at Petersburgh. Indeed, the magnificence of the frigate, embellished by every ornament which the palace of the embassy could supply, vied with a royal palace. All the minutiæ of the detail seem to have been calculated with the same care; and the ladies of Pera still talk with rapture of an aquatic omnibus, in which they were conveyed from the shore to the ball, in a floating drawing-room, beautifully lighted up, and supplied with cushions and mirrors.

"The company, consisting of all the foreign ambassadors at Constantinople, in their full uniforms; several Russian officers of Marshal Diebitsch Zabalkansky's staff, from Adrianople; and the whole Frank society of Pera, were assembled on board before nine o'clock: and my Russian friend represented the inner tent to me as presenting one beautiful flower-bed of ladies, decked out in all the loveliness of Cachemere, and ornamented with that profusion of jewellery which characterises the ladies of the Levant.

" It was about nine o'clock when His Majesty's ship Rifleman, which was stationed at a short distance off the harbour, gave the signal for the approach of the Turks. No sooner had the seraskier, followed by all the ministers, set foot on deck, than the band, which had hitherto remained mute, struck up the sultan's favourite march. The Mussulmans were all dressed alike, in long mantles of dark cloth, reaching below the knee, and displaying, as they sometimes opened in front, the diamond aigrette which distinguished their respective ranks. The head-dress was the simple red fez, an unbecoming close cap, with a blue tassel, which dangles down the side. They were all in the highest spirits, and viewed with ecstasy the festive scene; spending the early part of the evening in alternately playing by themselves at cards, retiring on the ottomans to smoke the long chibouk, or admiring the beauty of the dancers.

" The difficulties of etiquette, which very naturally arose, both with regard to the rank

of Turks towards each other, and towards the representatives of the foreign powers, was overcome by Sir Robert Gordon in a very simple and judicious manner. Each foreign minister successively selected, according to her rank, the lady he was to take down to supper; and each lady then gave her other arm to a Turk, according to his rank. They thus descended by threes, instead of by pairs.

"The main deck exhibited a splendid supper-table, at which two hundred guests sat down to a very singular ceremony, for the Turks conformed in every thing to the European manners; eating with knives and forks, joining in bumpers of champagne, in the toasts to the different sovereigns of Europe; and appearing to enjoy, as if in a dream, every thing that the most princely hospitality and judicious taste could supply, as a specimen of the manners of the West.

"After supper was over, and the dance recommenced, they were even persuaded to share in the promenades of the Polonaise;

and, grinning through their beards, gave their arms to the Houris with infinite zest. They staid later than their early hours sanctioned; and deep in the night were seen, alternately mingling in happy converse, or quaffing cups of European refreshment, Austrian hussars, Turkish ulemas, English midshipmen, and every varied character which the oriental metropolis can assemble. The sun had already illuminated the golden gate of the Seraglio, and the muezzin called the Moslems to their first prayer, when the retiring guests, in arabas and on foot, regained, through the solemn cemeteries, their homes.

"Every body at Pera, whom I saw, spoke with rapture of this fête, which had outshone every thing of the kind ever given at Stamboul, and reflected the highest credit on the embassy, and the judicious arrangements of Captain Lyon and his distinguished officers."

It is possible, that had I been present at this entertainment, which does so much credit

to the good taste and hospitality of the ambassador, I also might have now been in raptures with the delights it presented; but, as I happened to be very differently employed at the time, and had no champagne to exalt my ideas of its brilliancy, I must be allowed to take a very different view of the subject.

It was now nearly two months since I had quitted the Turkish capital on a visit to its provinces. During my progress through a country, more favoured perhaps by nature than any in the world, I found it, from one end to the other, depopulated and laid waste by the vicious folly of its governors. I traced, step by step, desolation and ruin to the very gates of the city. I enter them, and find that the great promoters of these disasters have, in the meanwhile, been carousing at European banquets, drinking champagne, and dancing la Polonaise.

Had this conformity to European manners followed, instead of preceded, any great efforts for the amelioration of the condition of the people, such an open violation of their prophet's

laws, such a violence to their religious prejudices, might have met among them with an indulgent apology, founded on the good the government had performed; but as the reverse has been the case, they must be considered as having insulted, as well as injured, a fanatical people, for the mere indulgence of their own sensual gratification; or, as a very pretty young French lady said at the time; "Ces Messieurs Turques ont commencé où ils auraient dû finir."

It is possible that the Turkish authorities, in thus exposing themselves to the contempt and hatred of the Mahometans, may have merely complied with the commands of Mahmoud. If so, what can be said of the enlightened character of the sovereign, who thus wantonly loosens almost the only remaining tie that binds his subjects in obedience to his despotic will?

Whenever the durability of the Ottoman government is considered, its connexion with the Mahometan religion must always be borne

in mind. The allegiance of the Osmanli to the sultan is not so much to his temporal authority of emperor, as to his spiritual capacity of first imaum. Hence, whatever militates against his reputation as an orthodox Mussulman, will prove highly dangerous to his power as a monarch.

"In Mahometan countries," says Montesquieu, "it is partly from their religion that the people derive the surprising veneration they have for their prince." In another place, the same author observes, "It is religion that amends in some measure the Turkish constitution. The subjects, who have no attachment to the glory and grandeur of the state, are attached to it by the force and principle of religion."*

Three nights before our return, there had also been a *fête* given to the Turks at Count Guillemenot's, the French ambassador. It was less splendid than Sir Robert Gordon's. At

* Spirit of Laws, book v. chap. 14.

this entertainment, the ladies had been separated from the gentlemen at the supper-table.

The Capitan Pasha was to have given a grand ball in return, at which the sultan was to have been present *incog.*, but from some cause it never took place. At this assembly, nearly all the ladies, fond as they were of gaiety, had determined not to be present. It was probably abandoned on that account.

The party at the palace had much diminished while we had been absent. Lord Yarmouth, Mr. Grosvenor, Colonel Vernon, and Mr. Edward Villiers, had left Constantinople on a journey to Egypt. Captain Lyons had gone on a cruise into the Black Sea. Only Mr. Parish and Mr. Mellish remained; and the latter of these gentlemen was about to proceed, through European Turkey and Germany, to England.

In the evening there was a concert at the British palace. The company consisted of the foreign ambassadors and suites, dragomans,

British merchants and families, and some of the principal Greeks. This was a novel sight to us, — a society (many of the members of which had not been beyond the walls of Constantinople) dressed and conducted according to the rules of an European assembly. The only Asiatic-looking persons present were the dragomans of the embassy, who glided about the rooms in loose flowing silk robes, the privileged yellow slippers, and balloon-shaped black caps.

As for the rest of the men, they behaved with considerable ease, and seemed perfectly well satisfied with themselves. Pera can boast her dandies as well as London. No *jeune de langue*,* with any pretensions to fashion, will wear a coat that has not merged from the shop of a Paris tailor. Some of them surreptitiously wear the envied frosted button of the *attachés*, whose manners and appearance they endeavour to ape. In the important

* A candidate for the office of dragoman.

business of neckcloth tying, there are not a few who would rival my countrymen in the art.

It was amusing to see these aspiring young gentlemen forming themselves upon their English models, and adopting a mode of address which long intimacy, or schoolfellowship, could alone authorise. Thus, whenever they mentioned the names of our countrymen, they would either drop the prefix, or add the familiar appellation, and, in a lisping accent, make kind inquiries after their friends "Yarmouth, Dunlo, or Bob Grosvenor."

The number of these interpreters is a remarkable circumstance in the diplomatic establishments of Constantinople. I have not ascertained the exact number attached to the other embassies; but if they bear any proportion to our own, they must be endless. We have Mons. Chabert, of French extraction, with a salary of 1100*l.*; Messrs. Wood, Fred. Pisani, —— Pisani, Calamo, about 500*l.*; Alexander Pisani, Chabert jun., Wood jun., another Pisani, and

another Wood, *jeunes de langue*, who also receive some stipend.

The corps dragomanique style themselves "*la noblesse de Pera.*" They are descended from colonial Genoese families, who settled here after the destruction of their republic in the Black Sea and the Levant, and from French families who have emigrated from different causes. A more intriguing set of people never existed; and so touchy are they, so fearful lest the noble blood which flows in their veins should be alloyed by contact with the meaner sort, that they consider their houses degraded by an alliance with the wealthiest and most respectable merchants of the place. One of the wives of these interpreters has never forgiven her own daughter the above-mentioned offence: when pressed by her confessor, she agreed to see her once, but it was only to tell her never to shew her face again. This amphibious class, half European, half Asiatic, are alike the dread of Turk and Frank; and it is notorious, that out of all the dragomans,

there is only one that our ambassador can trust. In short, they are considered a scourge by all classes, as is illustrated by a proverb, the original of which may, I rather believe, be found in the Turkish language:

> "In Pera sono tre malanni,
> Peste, fuoco, dragomanni."

Of the fairer portion of the party I can speak more favourably; indeed, the hearts of us trans-Balcanians were hardly proof against the beauty and fascination of some Greek ladies whom we met this evening. Most conspicuous among them is the lovely Mrs. M——e, the wife of an English resident at Pera. Her attractions had acquired additional fame from the conquest she had made at the memorable *fête* on board the Blonde. The heart she there gained, once belonged to no less a person than the Seraskier Pasha; but it is his no longer. This old Mahometan, who, only a few weeks before, had consigned some thousand male and female "children of the faithful" to indiscri-

minate slaughter, was subdued by the reproving frown of a pretty infidel. I understand that nothing could be more ludicrous than the demonstration of his passion. One time he detained her unwilling hand, and as he pressed it to his lips, exclaimed, "Once more, or I die." On another occasion he was about to express, in the Turkish fashion, his admiration of her charms, by throwing a bag of sequins into her lap; hoping, like another Jupiter, to visit his Danaë in a shower of gold.

We heard some very respectable amateur singing; the professional performers were an English actress and her daughter, a pretty girl of sixteen, also of the same profession. They had originally assisted at the private theatricals at Malta, and had lately arrived from Alexandria, where I understood they had been performing to crowded houses. With such valuable assistance at hand, there were serious thoughts of getting up some private theatricals; and I, as a "brother of the sock and buskin," was to have taken a part. It

would have formed an agreeable episode in my travels; but my short stay in the capital prevented me from performing my share of the engagement, and the scheme subsequently fell to the ground. I mention this trifling anecdote, to shew how the thoughts of English travellers were employed, while the imaginations of their friends at home were full of the dangers they were in, of being assassinated by a Mahometan mob.

CHAPTER VII.

Return of Captain Lyons from the Black Sea — Visit the Capitan Pasha — Ball at the French Ambassador's — Pera Etiquette — A Son of Kotzebue — The French Ambassador — La Comtesse de Guillemenot — Heroine Ambassadress — Visit the Greek Patriarch — Remarks on the Plague — Privileges of the Patriarch and the Greek Clergy in general — Revenues of the Patriarch — Military Authors — Concert at the Internuncio's — Diplomatic want of Gallantry — The Necessity of the Sultan's public Attendance at the Mosque — Greek Vessels under the Russian Flag admitted by the Porte — Turkey recognises Greek Independence — The Sultan's Promises during the Absence of the Ambassadors — His Conduct on their Return — Remarks of the Pasha of Egypt — Law — Sultan's Infraction of this Law — The probable Consequences.

November 28. THIS evening Captain Lyons arrived from a cruise in the Black Sea; his frigate having been the first English man-of-war that had been through the straits of the Bosphorus. He had made a very interesting trip,

and had paid a visit to Varna, Sevastopol, and other sea-ports, to the disagreeable surprise of the Russian authorities.

November 29. Went with Lord Dunlo and Captain Lyons to visit the Capitan Pasha; he was *ill* in bed;* but from his friendly feeling towards Captain Lyons, he admitted him to an interview. Lord Dunlo and myself availed ourselves of the interval of the visit to go over his residence. It is situated on a kind of terrace immediately above the arsenal. It is of great size, and the design is on a grand scale; like every thing Turkish, it has been allowed to go to decay, and is dilapidated both within and without. It is ill-adapted for a winter residence, being made of wood, and built without chimneys. The rooms are warmed with the *munguls*, pans of charcoal; the air is consequently rendered unwholesome before any warmth is felt. Upon leaving his house, we met his dinner arriving through the open air

* Achmet Paepooshjee is since dead.

from the kitchen, situated more than a hundred yards from the house. It consisted of upwards of sixty dishes, by no means too many, considering the numerous mouths he has to feed.

I accompanied Sir Robert Gordon to a ball at the French palace. The British ambassador was preceded by two Turkish kavasses bearing torches. His excellency's approach to the French ambassador's was announced by three deep blows on the gong, which might be heard all over the town: this is the established etiquette of Pera. Three *coups de cloche* for an ambassador, two for a minister, and one for a secretary: all other persons come and go in solemn silence.

The ball-room was full of waltzing Russians: it seemed as though the Turkish prophecy had been fulfilled, and that the "sons of yellowness" were in occupation of the capital. Amongst other officers present, was a son of Kotzebue, the celebrated German dramatist.

I here made my bow to the French ambassador, Count de Guillemenot. I also had the honour of being presented to the ambassadress, and to Mademoiselle de Guillemenot; agreeable acquaintances, which my short stay prevented me from improving as I should have wished.

Monsieur le Général Comte de Guillemenot commanded a division of Napoleon's army in 1815, and bore a distinguished part in the battle of Waterloo. He is one of those military men whom his government are in the habit of sending to places where they consider a soldier's information may be made available.

In this instance, the choice of the French minister may be considered doubly fortunate, inasmuch as Madame la Comtesse is a military woman in every sense of the word. Herself and her sister, the Demoiselles Fering, animated with the glorious desire of serving their country in arms, enlisted as privates in Dumouriez' army. They bore a distinguished part in the very first engagement, where they fought

amongst the bravest: shortly after which they rose from the ranks and obtained commissions. The sister of the ambassadress was killed at the battle of Valmy. One of the two, I know not which, received a sword of honour for her chivalrous conduct. In the feminine manners of her excellency, it is difficult to trace the gallant hussar of the early times of the French revolution.

November 30. The Archbishop of Adrianople had given us a letter to the patriarch, which he begged us to deliver. We went to him this morning, and were joined by Captain Lyons, his sons (two intelligent little midshipmen), and Count Alexander Pisani, one of the British *jeunes de langue*. The palace of the Greek primate is a large, dirty, straggling building, and contains an immense establishment of churchmen.

The patriarch was very civil, though he seemed surprised at our visit. He spoke French fluently, and appeared to be an intelligent man. Every allusion to political events was cau-

tiously avoided; even the all-engrossing subject of the peace was passed over in silence. Our only topic of conversation was the plague. In 1812, twelve hundred souls, on an average, perished daily; and during three days, upwards of two thousand five hundred each day. Three classes of persons are generally considered exempt from this scourge, namely, oilmen, drunkards, and dragomans.

"It is rather odd," said a stranger who was present, "that the dragoman should escape; because, from his office, he is more in contact with infected persons than any other class of the community. The only satisfactory way to account for it is, that the dragoman is under the protection of the evil genius of Constantinople, who preserves his life, as an instrument of ill to others."

In a former part of this work* allusion is made to the *khatty scherif* of Mahomet the Second, by which considerable privileges were

* Vol. I. p. 256.

granted to the Greek priesthood. This will be a proper place to state in what those privileges consist.

In the middle of the fifteenth century, Mahomet the Second established, by this edict, the Patriarch of Constantinople chief of the Greek nation, president of the synod, and supreme judge of all affairs, civil and religious. He exempted him from the khavatch, as he did all the other members of the synod, which, composed of twelve metropolitans, was destined to form the great council of the nation.

All the cadis, and military Turkish governors, had orders to carry into execution the judicial sentences of the patriarch, relative to the Christians of the Greek church; of those of the bishops, with regard to their parishioners; and to assist the clergy in the recovery of their rights and revenues. The Patriarch of Constantinople, and all the other metropolitans, were authorised to demand an annual tribute of twelve aspers from each family, and a sequin from each of the priests of the diocese.

All pious legacies were declared legitimate, and the Ottomans were commanded to consider the churches as sacred and inviolable. It was also declared that no Greek should be obliged to abjure the faith of his ancestors, in order to embrace that of the conqueror.*

It is to be observed, that in all this there is no mention whatever of any privileges belonging to the Greek people. Nevertheless, Mahomet the Second, wishing to flatter the Greek nation, declared, by his *khatty sherif*, that the election of the Patriarch of Constantinople, or of the supreme chief of the œcumenic church, should be made by the representatives of the clergy and of the nation; and that he could not be deposed except by the consent and request of the body which had elected him. This consideration, (as was formerly the case with the Hospodars of Wallachia and Moldavia,) which seemed so favourable, has become a subject of continual dis-

* Jucherau, tome i. pp. 145, 146.

sension among the Greeks, and a source from which the government and its ministers draw abundant supplies to their avarice.

"The first patriarchs received the *hazeran*, or staff of command, in presence of the monarch, who used to make them a present of a thousand sequins. This prerogative was continued until the time of the patriarch Parthenius, who, led away by ambition and fanaticism, became perjured towards the Porte.

"Since that time, the patriarch receives the hazeran in the presence of the vizier; and, instead of obtaining any present, pays a hundred purses for his installation.

"The administration of justice forms one of the revenues of the patriarch, and of the metropolitans. They each exact a right of ten per cent on the value of the object contested, for every cause. The profits of the primate must be considerable, since he is obliged to pay seventy purses into the treasury for this single source of revenue.

"But besides the products of the permanent

revenues, authorised by the *khatty sherif* of Mahomet the Second, and the great profits which arise from the administration of justice, the primate is in the habit of demanding twenty purses from the metropolitans for the fees of installation: he also sells to the subordinate priests the right of exercising their functions.

"To draw money from a people already overburdened with the weight of the national yoke, and to keep them in a belief which is the sole cause of their servitude, it was necessary to enslave them by governing their minds also. The priests required not the practical virtues of a good man; they wanted the blind faith of an enthusiast."*

It is from this abject state of mind that the Greeks have been roused, by the means I have stated in the preceding volume.

Like all greatness in Turkey, the patriarchate is an exceedingly dangerous acqui-

* Jucherau, tome i. pp. 147, 148, 151.

sition. This functionary is deeply responsible; his conduct is closely watched; and the slightest suspicion of his loyalty is followed by banishment or death. The fate of one of his predecessors in office is an example of this: "On the 22d of April, 1821, being Easter day, the greatest of the Greek festivals, Gregorios, Patriarch of Constantinople, the head of the Greek church, acknowledged and appointed by the Porte, and who had recently issued his anathema against the insurgents, was seized and hanged before the patriarchal church in which he had been officiating; and, as a consummation of ignominy in the eyes of the Greeks, his body was delivered to the Jews, to be dragged through the streets." * This act of violence on the part of Mahmoud, confirmed the wavering minds of the insurgents, and laid the basis of that revolution which has already deprived him of some of his finest provinces, and which

* Leake's Historical Outline of the Greek Revolution, page 47.

bids fair to prove the death-blow to his sovereign power.

So precarious is the tenure of the patriarchate, that it is said never to have remained eight years in the same hands. To avoid suspicion, the Patriarch of Constantinople does not pretend to the supremacy of the Greek church in emancipated Greece, although the Ionian Islands are still under his jurisdiction. It is a mutual accommodation between the primate and his former flock, the Moreote Greeks and the Russians, that they appoint their own priests, and that he is released from the suspicion which would fall upon him if he communicated with them as their chief.

Returning from Galata, we boarded an Egyptian brig of war, which appeared remarkably clean. The officers were dressed in hussar-shaped scarlet jackets, richly embroidered with gold. Two-thirds of the crew had sore eyes.

December 2. I had the pleasure of making the acquaintance of Captain Trant, aide-de-camp to Sir Frederick Adam. This gentleman,

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a few years ago, published a very interesting anonymous work, entitled, "Two Years in Ava." He has now appeared a second time before the public, as the author of "A Journey through Greece." His last work, and Captain Alexander's "Travels to the Seat of War," are the only publications that have hitherto treated of the subjects connected with the state of Turkey in 1829. I am in hopes that mine will comprise the third: thus, all the information of this period will have been contributed by three young military men. My own conscience acquits me of vanity in mentioning the circumstance, and I trust that a better feeling will be imputed to me. My object is to induce some of my brother soldiers (of whom so many are unemployed), to follow our example; viz. to travel in a distant country, with a view of letting the world know the result of their remarks. The soldier so situated, would find, that, with ordinary powers of observation, and a little of that enterprise which should form so principal an ingredient in his

character, he might make an important contribution to the literature of his country. Even if his success should not equal his expectations, the habit he would have acquired, of examining the features of a country, its productions and resources, and of inquiring into its political state, could not but be highly serviceable to him in the higher walks of his profession. At least he would have a pleasing gratification in the retrospect of his adventures, which would last him his life.

" Hoc est
" Vivere bis, vitâ posse priore frui."

December 3. A concert at the internuncio's (the Austrian ambassador). The music was conducted by amateur composers as well as performers. The orchestra was at the upper end of the room; ladies lined the walls on three sides; the middle of the room contained rows of chairs, in the first of which were most ungallantly seated the ambassadors and ministers, while ladies occupied the seats

behind them. This may do very well in Turkey, or in the wilds of Hungary; but hardly any where else in Europe would such a solecism in good breeding be warranted.

When the programme was over, dancing was proposed: at the profane word, all the Greek ladies suddenly disappeared, quite horror-struck at the idea of dancing in the middle of one of their long fasts.

December 5. Count Orloff, the Russian minister, had his audience of the sultan this morning at Ramas Chiflik.

I went shopping in the bazaars with English Mustapha, preparatory to another journey.

Among those who derive advantage from the extinction of the janizaries, are Frank travellers. Instead of being pushed into the gutter by an armed ruffian, you may wander through the streets without arms or attendants. In place of the offensive epithet of "Giaour," you are saluted by the Turkish shopkeeper with the respectful one of "effendy," or "capitan."

Where every man, of whatever religion, is

a smoker, one would naturally expect to find the manufacture of amber mouth-pieces a considerable article of trade; but it appears to be quite the contrary. There are few pretty ones to be seen in the common shops, nor do I know where the more beautiful mouth-pieces, ornamented with enamel and diamonds, are made; but they are easily to be found, though difficult to pay for. Lord Yarmouth, when he was here, bought some very magnificent ones to send to Paris.

The Egyptian bazaar, containing drugs, dyes, spices, and perfumed woods, is remarkably clean; the colours are singular and various; and the wares are laid out and arranged with remarkable taste and neatness. In this bazaar there is an entire absence of the odour of the otto of roses, which, more or less, pervades all the others; but it has in exchange a scent of its own, which is peculiarly agreeable.

The bazaar of slippers, white, red, and embroidered, is also very pretty; as is that for

embroidered muslins. There are others, for arms, saddlery, cutlery,—in short, for wares of every description.

From the busiest district of this crowded mart, by taking one of the numerous alleys that lead into it from the rest of the town, you find yourself at once almost in solitude. Since 1826, upwards of one hundred thousand souls, in and about Constantinople, have been disposed of, contrary to the common course of nature. If to this number be added those who have been killed in the war, or who have died there from sickness, and those who still form part of the army, it will amount to a total, the abstraction of which cannot fail to make a very sensible diminution in the population of Constantinople. Those who knew the city formerly, and have returned to it again, state the difference to be so remarkable, that, even with all these causes, they cannot account for the deficiency. There was a tremendous fire in 1827, beginning at the post between the Seraglio and the bazaars,

the effects of which are still visible. It consumed the whole of the vast range of buildings —containing the council chambers and offices of all the ministers of state—opposite the principal entrance of the Seraglio, known by the name of the Sublime Porte; and did not cease until its progress was arrested by the sea of Marmora.

This was one of the last attempts of the janizaries. It was by similar means that, in former times, this licentious band had frequently rendered their power so terrible and so supreme. Whenever their petitions were slighted by the sultan or his ministers, they would always set fire to some portion of the town, and allow it to burn for a longer or shorter time, according to the resistance offered to their wishes. In extreme cases, they would destroy the pumps, to prevent the possibility of extinguishing the flames. The terrified owners of the neighbouring houses were forced to join the janizary party: their petitions were in consequence complied with, however extravagant

they might be, and the obnoxious ministers delivered over to their fury.

They also used this terrible arm as a mode of extorting money from rich proprietors, threatening that, if the sum they demanded were not immediately paid, the neighbouring houses should be set on fire, and no engines be allowed to approach the spot. They usually made bargains of this sort whenever they resorted to that plan of overawing the sultan. The result was, that the fires invariably broke out in the obscurer parts of the city, where the wretched inhabitants were not rich enough to buy off the impending ruin.

But most of the causers of these calamities have now been swept from the face of the earth; and the name of janizary is forbidden to be pronounced: though there is every reason to believe that the spirit of the body still exists, notwithstanding the terrible examples that have been made.

Weeds and long grass are growing luxuriantly, where the residence of the mighty tyrants

of sovereign and people once stood. From the Seraskier's Tower, two large green spaces may be seen in the town. If you ask the guard the reason, you are answered in a tremulous whisper, that it is the "desecrated ground."

December 6. A ball at the French ambassador's.

I am one of the few English travellers who have quitted Constantinople without seeing the sultan:* the only two attempts I made were unsuccessful. Still, I have little excuse to plead, since he goes publicly to the mosque every Friday. This is not his voluntary act, but is strictly enjoined by the institutions of the empire; proving what I have before stated, viz. the connexion of the sultan's power with the Mahometan religion. The attendance is a duty which was practised by the prophet him-

* For a description of an interview with the sultan, the reader is referred to the "Extracts from the Journal of the Hon. Robert Grosvenor," which will be found in the Appendix to this volume.

self, and by the caliphs his successors; and no sultan must omit it unless he be at the point of death, or in any very extraordinary circumstances. Political reasons, as well as the imperative commands of the law, enjoin it; for his presence in public is necessary to the conservation of good order. Sovereigns have been frequently obliged to quit the bed of sickness to superintend the duties of public worship. As the grand signior can only appear on horseback, his illness, on these occasions, is constantly aggravated, either by the burning heats of summer, or the piercing cold of winter. In this manner, Mahmoud the First fell a victim to the superstitious observances of his country: overcome by the violence of his disorder, he was unable to return, but expired between the two gates of the Seraglio.* Thus also perished the sultan Abdul Hamid. Worn down by disease, he absented himself one Friday from public worship, and the people rose in rebellion: the

* D'Ohsson, Code Religieux, tome ii. p. 202.

next Sabbath, he was carried on his horse to the mosque, returned home, and died.*

In a despotic country, the sovereign is not a free agent.

While at Constantinople, I saw numbers of Greek vessels pass through the Dardanelles under the Russian flag. This permission has been granted by the Porte, which agrees to admit merchant ships of that nation without the Turkish flag, and exempts the persons of such Greeks, belonging to those parts not under their control, whom commerce may bring to the capital, or elsewhere in these dominions, from paying the kharatch, or capitation tax; while the affairs of Greece remain unsettled by the congress at London. The passports also of the Greek government were recognised by the Porte.

The Greek question was conceded by the Turks on the 5th of August, 1829.

This recognition of Greece as an inde-

* De Tott's Memoirs: I quote from memory.

pendent power, by the Ottoman government, however extorted from it by the stern law of necessity, is one of those causes that must hasten the downfal of this tottering empire.

As soon as the French and English ambassadors had left Constantinople in 1828, their absence excited very uneasy feelings, not only in the sultan and his ministers, but among every class in the capital; and the desire to have them back again was very great. His highness gave a French agent to understand, that on their return, no obstacle should arise on his part to the settlement of the Greek question. But those acquainted with the obstinacy of his character, were well aware, that whatever hopes he might hold out of acceding to the conditions of the treaty of the 6th of July, he would be far from fulfilling them, when he had once obtained the return of the ambassadors, and relieved his mind from the uneasiness occasioned by their absence. They well knew, that the only way of obtaining his consent was by working upon his fears. There

can be no doubt but that this was detailed to government, by those whose experience fully entitled them to ensure attention to their representations, when the ambassadors were sent back. They, however, did return; and the event proved the correctness of the persons who were able to form a just opinion of the effect that would result. The English and French ambassadors had at first only one audience of the Reis Effendy, which took place in a kiosk on the Bosphorus, and is said to have lasted only twenty minutes or half an hour, and to have been broken off abruptly by the Turkish minister declaring, in no very measured language, the determination of his master to resist the terms of the treaty of the 6th of July as long as possible. Fortunately for the allied governments, the advance of the Russian army on Adrianople decided what diplomacy appeared to have little chance of effecting; and the British minister was spared the mortification of seeing realised the predictions he had not chosen to listen to, by the departure of his ambassador

without his having accomplished a single object for which he had been sent. The frigate that conveyed him up the Dardanelles, remained at anchor off Tophana, and Therapia, with every prospect of soon having the honour of taking him back to Naples or Corfu.

When Ibrahim, the son of the pasha of Egypt, heard that the ambassadors were returning to Constantinople, in expectation of terminating the affairs of Greece by negotiation, he burst into a loud fit of laughter at the idea of the sultan acknowledging the independence of Greece, and said that it was impossible for him to do it; that if he had the wish, he had not the power. He also said, that the sultan would feel very much obliged to the allied powers if they would land their armies, and drive the Turks out of the countries they wished the Greeks to possess. But the idea of their being given up by negotiation appeared so ludicrous, that it nearly choked the pasha with its absurdity. The following observations from d'Ohsson shew that the Viceroy of Egypt

fully understands the theory of Mahometan government, although most likely he is totally ignorant of the title of the excellent work from which this extract is given. For further information on the subject than the following remarks, I must refer to the book itself, which enters upon the subject more in detail.*

By the thirty-third article of the religious code, it is ordained "that Mussulmans must be governed by an imaum, and that he shall attend the mosque on Fridays," &c. Then follows an enumeration of his powers; and the article ends with observing that he shall proceed to the division of all legal spoil.

The Mahometan commentator on this article observes, that this imaum should be one and alone; that his authority should be absolute; that every one ought to submit to and respect it; that no town, no country, can recognise any other, because the result would be at-

* Tableau Général de l'Empire Othoman, par M. d'Ohsson. tom. i. pp. 258–266.

tended with troubles which would compromise religion and the state; and that when even such a compromise by this independent and particular authority should be to the temporal advantage of such town or country, it would not be the less illegitimate, and contrary to the spirit and welfare of religion, which is the most essential and most important part of the public and general administration of an imaum, &c.

"It follows," says d'Ohsson, "from these principles, that sovereigns ought to forbid all division of authority, all separation of possessions, every kind of dismemberment; so is it without example in the annals of Mahometanism, that a caliph is ever allowed to divide his power, or his dominions, even in favour of his children.

The ancient imaums have always agreed in their commentaries to maintain, without alteration, this grand point of Mussulmanism. Some declare, that whilst the caliphate and the indivisibility of the supreme power exist, all Mahometan states should form but one power,

one only political body; and that if violence should occasion the division of any part of the monarchy, the new states, thus separated by usurpation and force of arms, ought to recognise in the sovereign imaum the unity of his absolute command, by rendering homage to his spiritual supremacy. Others maintain, that this is not sufficient, but that the temporal authority of the imaum ought to be recognised, and quote the Koran in support, which says, "Submit yourselves to God, submit to his prophet, and to him amongst you who has the supreme command." The most rigid deny the validity of a new state, unless separated from the caliphate either by the seas or by the domains of a foreign nation.

Such is the general point of view in which Islamism has ever considered the sacerdotal dignity, whether as regards itself, or in its relations with other Mahometan states. The temporal power of Mahomet having only been founded on the pretended mission which he had received from heaven, to recall men to

the worship of the ancient patriarchs, and to the unity of the Deity, it is natural that the political should be subordinate to the religious constitution, amongst people who are governed by the laws of Islamism.

It was this point of doctrine, rather than any political considerations, that, in the war between Russia and the Porte, which terminated in 1744, occasioned such violent opposition on the part of the Turks to the dismemberment of the Crimea, and to the independence of its chief. The Ottoman monarch, driven by necessity to submit, would not consent to recognise Prince Shahhin Guiriah as sovereign of Little Tartary, and to disengage him from the rights of temporal submission to the Ottoman sultans, except on the express condition that this khan should always do spiritual homage to him and to his successors for ever.*

* This is provided for in the third article of the Treaty of Kaïnarjee: " Quant aux cérémonies de religion, comme les Tartares professent le même culte que les Mussulmans, ils

From the foregoing observations it is evident, that Mahmoud, in recognising the independence of Greece, has violated one of the fundamental laws on which his empire is founded, and has thereby given additional plausibility to the previous representations of the priesthood, that he was unworthy to reign over the chosen of the prophet.

Is it to be supposed that the ulemas, whose authority must cease if Mahmoud's plans succeed, will fail to improve the advantage over him, which has been given them by necessity's stern law? or rather, will they not endeavour to exasperate the people against him, and to confirm their suspicions of his infidelity, which his own shortsighted policy has induced them to entertain?

se régleront à l'égard de sa hautesse, comme grand chef du Mahometanisme, selon les préceptes que leur prescrit leur loi, sans aucun préjudice néanmoins de la confirmation de leur liberté politique et civile."

CHAPTER VIII.

Turkish Academy — The Mint — The Sultan's Steam-boat — Dine with the Consul-General — Dr. Millingen — Projected Journey — Some Account of the Zebeks, a band of rebel Mountaineers near Smyrna — My servant Carle Michel — My Tartar — Travellers recommended to travel alone — Mustapha.

THERE is a Turkish academy in the arsenal, where languages and seamanship are taught. The superintendent is a young English renegade, who came to Constantinople about four years ago, being then twenty years of age. He turned Mahometan immediately, without waiting to learn the language, which, however, he has since acquired. I did not meet him myself: he is an acquaintance of Lord Dunlo's.

A short time after I left Constantinople,

a firman had appeared for the education of young Turks at different places in England and France. Fifteen of the Englishman's scholars volunteered to be sent out. The next day, however, the firman was (as I believe) revoked. In all probability, the influence of the ulemas prevented this project from being put into execution.

Allusion has been made, in the first volume of this work, (page 264) to the mint. It is under the nominal superintendence of a Turk, and is called the *zarp-khana eimini*. He lets it out to the Armenians, who, for the precarious direction of it, pay at the rate of sixty thousand piastres a day to the Turkish government. Nevertheless, they contrive to amass wealth, which enables them, besides building houses, and keeping up the most splendid establishments, to make presents, from time to time, to such men in power as might otherwise have them removed, influenced by the bribes of others of their own countrymen, who would wish to supersede them. The sultan himself

is sometimes propitiated by a gift offering, and was, not long since, presented with an English steam-boat, that cost ten thousand pounds: it has since been fitted up for his highness's own use. No wonder that the coin is debased, or the revenues exhausted, while the sultan conspires with his subjects to defraud himself.

The steam-boat of which I have spoken is called the Hylton Jolliffe. It once plied between London and Edinburgh; but the force of competition driving it from the home market, it was brought here. It passed through the Russian blockading squadrons, by hoisting the British ensign, and making the Russians suppose that our ambassador was on board. Their indignation at being thus outwitted was extreme. The vessel is now commanded by Captain Kelly, himself the engineer, a handsome, good-natured looking man, who wears the Turkish uniform. The accommodations are good, but not very extraordinary. Young Turks have been sent on board at different

times, to learn the management of the machinery; but, whether through laziness, or a fear of the responsibility that would devolve upon them should an engine be confided to their care, not one of them has availed himself of Captain Kelly's instructions, nor of the opportunity of seeing the engine at work.

December 6. Dined with my friend Mr. Cartwright, the consul-general. I met at dinner Dr. Millingen, who had attended Lord Byron for six months, and was with him during his last illness. It is to this gentleman that I am indebted for my route in Asia Minor, about which it is now necessary to say a few words.

A fortnight's good living had obliterated all unpleasing remembrances of the privations I had undergone. I became tired of inglorious ease, and was desirous once more to sally out in quest of adventure.

The journey through Roumelia and Bulgaria had given me some insight into the state of the European provinces of Turkey. I

was anxious to know, whether, in Asia Minor, "the permanent seat of Islamism," the country was more flourishing, or the people less disaffected.

Accounts at this time were received in Constantinople of a rebellion having broken out near Smyrna, among the Zebeks. As the operations of these people are among the important events of Turkey in 1829, I here give such information as I was able to collect respecting them.

The Zebeks, like the Swiss, are a band of mercenary mountaineers, employed, as were the Albanians, in the capacity of body-guards to the pashas. They formed also a kind of guard in the coffee-houses, and had a right to levy a tax upon the traveller, for the protection they afforded him on the road. This sum, though trifling, was sufficient for their subsistence, and was willingly given by those from whom it was demanded. About the time of the extinction of the janizaries, the government forbade their attendance on the coffee-houses;

by which act a large body of armed men were turned loose upon the community. The object of the grand signior in the prohibition, is supposed to have been to induce them to enlist in the regular army; but the government reckoned without its host — they retired into their mountains, whither (as was formerly the case in the pursuit of the Greek mountaineers) the Turks were afraid to follow.

During a war against infidels, the grand signior has a right to levy a particular contribution, under the title of *salanieh*, on all his subjects, Mahometans as well as rayahs. The necessities of the country induced his highness to continue this levy after the peace had been ratified. The Zebeks resolutely refused to pay it, and were soon completely organised under the direction of their chief, who has the title of Kelmemet. They proceeded in a systematic, but at the same time orderly manner, contenting themselves by no other overt act than refusing to pay the taxes, or the usual arbitrary contributions levied on them by the

officers of the Porte, and protecting all who refused to do so. The kelmemet, whose name is Kootchook Mehmed Aga-hajee, or "Little Mehmed Aga the pilgrim," appears to be a most extraordinary fellow. His followers, in the first instance, did not amount to sixty, but they rapidly increased to above four thousand: in fact, there is no knowing their exact numbers. From refusing, in the first instance, to pay the war tax, they declined all contributions that did not go directly into the coffers of the grand signior. The first essay of the kelmemet was on a village where the waiwoda was a notorious tyrant, who had lately levied, for his own use, several very grievous taxes. The chief said to the people of this village, "A certain sum is due to the grand signior; you had better pay it to me, and I will remit it to the Porte." The sum demanded, was scarcely a tenth of what had been previously levied. The waiwoda was dismissed, and a follower of the kelmemet was placed in his stead. The consequence was,

that this village prospered; and the others in the neighbourhood, seeing that the chief was a just, though severe man, also sought his protection. In this manner he soon acquired the dominion of a very large territory. When he entered a village, he left in office all persons against whom no complaint had been lodged, but was particularly observant that they did not exceed the bounds of their duty. It was generally supposed that the roads would have been unsafe: this was not the case; and during the whole of my journey in the disturbed district, I did not hear a single complaint. The Zebeks now began to call out for free trade, protection to [illegible] laws, and more equal taxes.

The idea of Turks discoursing about these things, of which they could scarcely know the meaning, seemed to me so curious, that I had a great desire to visit the rebels, and felt perfectly confident that my person and property would have been respected by them.

I was debating upon the exact route I

should adopt, when Dr. Millingen opportunely stepped in, and settled the question for me. He told me, that if I would follow the high road leading from Constantinople to Egypt, as far as Keutya, the capital of Anatolia, and would then proceed in a south-westerly direction towards Smyrna, I should find the ruins of several ancient towns, and some very beautiful specimens of antiquity, that had never been mentioned by any modern traveller. He also, with the greatest kindness, allowed me the free use of his notes, which proved to be of the greatest assistance. Just as I had determined on this project, I heard that the Zebeks were in possession of the town through which my route lay. The information, instead of altering, rather confirmed my determination, as it opened to me the prospect of accomplishing three objects; first, an inquiry into the condition of Asia Minor; secondly, an examination of ancient ruins; thirdly, a visit to the rebel camp.

In the room of "English Mustapha," whose

service could no longer be dispensed with, I engaged a man of his recommendation. His name is Carlè Michel. He is one of those travelling servants who speak five or six languages, and of which numbers are to be found in Constantinople. He is a native of the place, and a Roman Catholic. His father, a Frenchman, had been in the service of the French embassy, which entitled his son to Frank protection. His mother is an Armenian; and was at Paris during the French Revolution, where she was employed by the government as a public courier. Hence we may presume that Carlè inherited his love of travelling by the maternal side.

My agreement with him was for a dollar a-day, the usual price given to one of his occupation. The objection to this arrangement of daily pay is, that it gives your servant an interest in detaining you on the road.

I was advised by my friends to engage one of the Tartars of the Porte; and I have to regret that I followed their advice. His name

is Mustapha: he has been accustomed to travel with Europeans, and is reckoned one of the best-behaved men of his corps. He was to be entirely under my orders for two months, and was to receive 1500 piastres for his services. I found him of no use whatever, but proud, idle, and insolent.

I was furnished with a post order, and the best travelling firman that could be granted to a private person. I made such additions to my wardrobe and equipments as the experience of my late journey had suggested as necessary; and I had acquired sufficient knowledge of Turkish to be a check upon my interpreter.

In this expedition I travelled without a companion; and I recommend every one, whose object is information, to do the same, unless he be so fortunate as to find a fellow-traveller who combines science with all the other indispensable qualifications of a good travelling companion. Here I must anticipate an impression that might naturally be produced, namely, that

this remark originated in something which occurred between Lord Dunlo and myself in the late journey. So far was this from being the case, that it was quite impossible for more perfect harmony to have subsisted between two individuals. Both nearly of an age, interested in the same objects of curiosity, each possessing a full command of temper, endowed with the same power of bearing privation and fatigue, we went through this somewhat arduous journey without a single dispute,—a matter of rare occurrence, if all travellers would confess the truth.

Yet, notwithstanding these advantages, we unavoidably interfered with each other's plans; for example, my illness at Adrianople had caused three weeks' detention to Lord Dunlo; and his being obliged to return to his duties as an attaché at Constantinople, prevented me from visiting Silistria, and other fortresses on the banks of the Danube. In short, from some experience in these matters, I pronounce a fellow-traveller, in most cases, to be a great

obstacle to advantageous research. To him only who makes a journey for information do I address myself. The society of a companion is certainly more pleasant; but if pleasure be the only attraction, the tourist had better confine his wanderings to civilised Europe.

December 7. Mustapha, my Tartar, came this morning for orders. He was a fine, handsome-looking fellow, and equipped in the highly picturesque dress of his avocation: a cylindrical black cap two feet high, surmounted by a cushion of green cloth; several scarlet, green, and chocolate-coloured coats, one over the other, some of them braided, others embroidered in gold; pink pantaloons, large unwieldy boots, and a brace of pistols, a dagger, a pipe, and a whip, stuck in his girdle.

I had intended to have gone the first stage this evening, but was persuaded by my friends to delay my journey till the following morning, and take a farewell dinner with them.

In the evening there was a ball at the French palace. Carle Michel had been in the

morning to the ambassador of France for his passport. "With whom are you going?" said his excellency. "With an Englishman." "Ah! I thought so; no one but an Englishman would be mad enough to travel for pleasure at this terrible season of the year."

CHAPTER IX.

Take leave of my Friends—Lord Dunlo—Wretched Weather—Scutari—Cartal—Mustapha's Laziness—My Attendants quarrel—Advice to Travellers respecting Tartars—The Turkish Dress recommended—Pendic—Ghebseh—Complaints against the Government—Damleh—Cross the Gulf of Nicomedia—Dil—Hersek—Pernicious Effects of the Mungul—Anecdote of Mustapha—Catholic Armenians returning from Banishment—Cause of their Exile—Origin of their Dissent from the Armenian Church—Religious Feuds—Dusoglu, Master of the Mint—Treachery of Cazas Artin—Ten Thousand Catholics banished to Asia Minor—Persecution of Armenian Women—The Catholics' Property sold for a Tenth of its Value—Turks the only Purchasers—Example of Persecution set by the Sultan—His Folly—He displeases both Christians and Turks.

December 8. Constantinople to Cartal, four hours.*—I SET out this morning on the fourth

* The hour may be generally considered as a distance of three miles.

stage of my journey, having first taken leave of Sir Robert Gordon, Mr. Mellish, Mr. Parish, Captain Lyons, and Lord Dunlo. With my late fellow-traveller I had passed many agreeable days, and had shared various difficulties, both of which circumstances were calculated to keep alive friendly recollections. It was, therefore, with more than ordinary feelings of regret that I separated from one in whose company I had been for some time, with scarcely half an hour's intermission. Should no other advantage attend the accomplishment of this journey, the friendship it has procured me with Lord Dunlo will always console me with the reflection that I have not travelled in vain.

During the preceding week, it had been one continued storm. The rain poured incessantly, and the black threatening clouds gave a promise of more. Had I been superstitious, the lowering aspect of the heavens would have deterred me from undertaking a journey over an unbeaten track, at a time when the elements themselves seemed combined to oppose me:

but I had no such feelings; the bright prospect of novelty, adventure, and successful research, were more than a match for the gloominess of the weather.

Captain Lyons, with his usual kindness, had ordered his barge to be in readiness to convey me across the Bosphorus to the Asiatic side, and had even intended to have accompanied me thus far on my journey; but the storm had so increased, that it was impossible to think of availing myself of his kindness: so, accompanied by Carle and Mustapha, I stepped into a three-oared caïque, which, in a short time, landed us at the town of Scutari, the Scutarium of the ancients:* here I went directly to the post-house, engaged four horses, and in half an hour we had mounted, and were passing, pipe in hand, through the magnificent forest of cypress, which forms the boundary of the town.

* Οχχάνης . . . . ἦλθε πρὸς τοῦ Βυζαντίου τὴν Περαίαν, ὁ Σκουτάριον ἐχχωρίως ὀνομάζεται.—CANTACUZ. lib. iv. cap. 4.

Four hours' journey brought us to Cartal, which is a small town on the sea-shore, bounded towards the land by an amphitheatre of mountains.

The khan was hardly a shade better than those on the European side: here I dined on some fish and rice; a bad exchange for the *entrées* at the ambassador's table.

Dec. 9. Cartal to Hersek, ten hours.—I had signified to Mustapha, whom I considered my master of the horse, my wish to start before daylight, but I could not persuade him to stir: Carle did all his business for him, and abused him in return. Mustapha's pride was offended at being disrespectfully treated by a Giaour native of Constantinople: high words ensued, which laid the foundation of a quarrel between the Mahometan and Christian, that continued the whole journey. This was the first, but not the last, occasion I had to lament having engaged a Tartar in my service. The use of such a person depends very much

upon the object of the traveller. There can be no doubt that he is treated with more respect when so attended; but, except as an article of parade, he is of no use whatever, besides being a considerable expense. An intelligent interpreter, a post firman, and a good travelling firman, are all that are requisite for comfort or safety. Here I would offer a few remarks upon another subject connected with the traveller's convenience, namely, his dress.

I have now travelled several thousand miles through Mahometan countries. I have been dressed sometimes as a European, and at others as a native of the country; and I am convinced that, as far as Turkey is concerned, the Turkish dress is preferable. It is by no means necessary that the European should speak the language, or assume the manners, of the country. I have made several inquiries on the subject, and am informed that the Turk esteems it as a compliment for a Frank to conform to the national costume, rather than wear habits which he considers both ungraceful and indecent.

Besides, European instructors of drill are so common in Turkey, that a traveller might often be mistaken for one; a circumstance which would always command attention, from the fears of the inhabitants. To the searcher for antiquities, the Turkish dress is very requisite, as he will otherwise suffer constant interruptions from the importunity and idle curiosity of the villagers.

This remark applies only to the provinces: a Frank habited as a Turk would excite as much attention in Constantinople as in the streets of London.

Leaving Cartal two hours after daylight, we continued marching along or near the sea-shore: the country on the land side is an open plain, bounded by a range of high hills. An hour's march brought us to a fishing village, which retains its ancient name of Pantichium,* in the corrupted form of

* Pantichium is mentioned in the Antonine and Jerusalem Itineraries.

Pendic. In many other towns through which I afterwards passed, the appellations of antiquity were easily recognisable in those given them by the modern inhabitants. Six hours further on, we stopped to change horses at Ghebseh.

This town is by some supposed to be a corruption of Libyssa, celebrated as the burying place of Hannibal; but Colonel Leake very fairly assumes it to be Δακίβυζα, which, by taking away the first syllable, leaves Κίβυζα, or Giviza, as it would be pronounced by the modern Greek;* Dacibiza is mentioned by several historians of the Lower Empire. It was here that the Arian emperor Valens ordered eighty priests of the opposite sect to be burned, together with the ship in which they were embarked.†

The town contains a mixed population of

* The initials K, P, T, in names of places, have, generally, among the modern Greeks, the sound of G, B, D.—LEAKE's *Asia Minor*, p. 4.

† Ibid. p. 9.

Turks and Greeks. The inhabitants here, as well as at Cartal, were full of complaints against the government, and the heavy taxation. The kharatch had been lately doubled, and they seemed to despair of being able to meet the demand. All parties appeared to wish for the return of the old janizary system, so discontented were they with their present condition. The Greeks say, that in former times, though they were beaten always, and plundered occasionally, they were never in such want of food as at present. On the other hand, the Turks complain, that, independently of losing their privileges as the faithful and chosen of God, and paying a tax from which they were formerly exempt, all their children capable of work have been impressed into the army; that there was no one left to till the land; and that the demands of government have risen in the same proportion as the means of meeting them have been taken away. The murmurings of the inhabitants at these two places were but the echo of every town or village through which I passed

in Asia Minor; one spirit of disaffection against the present government seemed to pervade every class of the community; Christian, Hebrew, and Turk, were all agreed upon this point; nor were they sparing in their abuse of the grand signior himself. I heard the name of Mahmoud constantly coupled with the epithets of Delli, Djezzar, and Giaour,—madman, butcher, and infidel.

Leaving Ghebseh, we entered upon a hilly country abounding in evergreens. Amongst these, the most abundant is the small oak, called Valania, the cup of whose acorn is used in dyeing: it is very abundant in Asia Minor, and forms an article of trade, the poorer classes going out into the woods to gather it; but so great at present is the rage for taxation, that the Turkish government has laid a heavy impost upon it, and the people have in consequence ceased to collect it.

Five miles from Ghebseh we saw, to our right, the highly picturesque village of Damleh, situate on the summit of an isolated and thickly

wooded mountain. A mile further on, we descended to the shore of the beautiful gulf of Ismid, or Nicomedia, and arrived at the small village of Malsum.

Here we embarked in an open, roomy sailing-boat, and landed on the opposite side on a slip of low land, projecting from a range of precipitous mountains. This place is called Dil, which, in Turkish, signifies tongue, and sufficiently characterises the form of the ground. From this side of the gulf we could see the minarets of Constantinople, presenting the appearance of a fleet of ships hull down.

Instead of Ghebseh, Colonel Leake assumes Malsum to be Libyssa, where Hannibal is supposed to be buried. He grounds his belief on the remark of Plutarch,* who describes a place corresponding with the Dil, or tongue of land we had just crossed.

A mile and a half from Dil is the Turkish

* Ἐν δὲ Βιθυνίᾳ τόπος ἐστὶ θινώδης ἀπὸ θαλάσσης καὶ πρὸς αὐτῷ κωμήτις οὐ μεγάλη Λίβυσσα καλεῖται.—PLUTARCH *in Flam.*

village of Hersek, a post station, where we slept. Hersek is supposed to be Helenopolis, a small town built by Constantine in honour of his mother. Helenopolis was situated on the sea-shore, near the place where the river Draco disembogues into the sea. The Draco corresponds with the river which we crossed the following day; and it is evident that the Dil has been formed by the alluvial deposit of that river.*

The only coffee-house in the village was occupied by about twenty Turks, every six of whom were seated round a mungul of charcoal. From the general room, was partitioned off a small elevated chamber: into this den we crept for the night, and were nearly suffocated with the fumes of charcoal.

The universal use of the mungul in Turkey, is one of the principal causes of disease amongst the people. I was informed by an English medical man, that of his Ottoman patients, six

* Leake, p. 10.

out of eight cases were those of sufferers from this deleterious practice. I have also heard, that Turks are constantly found dead round their favourite pans of charcoal. Mustapha wished very much to have a mungul in our little chamber; but I positively forbade it, telling him at the time, that the change from the close heated coffee-house to the cold external air, would most likely produce a very bad cold. He paid no attention to my warning, huddled with some of his fellow-Turks round one of their pans, and the next day his violent coughing convinced me that I had proved a true prophet.

Meat was not procurable here, it being a luxury to which the poor inhabitants are utter strangers. I was therefore constrained to appease the cravings of hunger by a tasteless pilau, and to keep up my spirits with a cheering glass of gin and water.

Mustapha, who had a truly Mahometan love of the forbidden juice, asked me to give him a little. I poured him out a bumper, which he

drank unadulterated with water. The word *gin* signifies devil in most Oriental languages. The burning draught which Mustapha had just swallowed, elicited from him the remark, that *my* gin (devil) was playing the devil with his stomach!

December 10. Hersek to Kizdervent.—Our destination for the night was Kizdervent, to which place there is a direct road; but by some mistake my Tartar took me first to Kara Mousall: it is situated on the border of the gulf, contains about three hundred houses, and, at the time we entered, had a greater appearance of the bustle of population than is ordinarily to be met with in Turkish towns. We here procured the quarter of a sheep that had just been killed, part of which we took into a cook's shop, and put it into the oven: when it was baked, we ate it in the presence of a host of dirty and gaping townspeople, who had assembled in and about the house to witness our repast.

Leaving Kara Mousall, we commenced the ascent of a rugged mountain: the road had been paved, but was in wretched repair; so that the crossing of this mountain offered greater obstacles than any part of the Roumelian Balcan. In compensation, the scene before us was perhaps unequalled in any part of the world. The side of the hill was completely clothed with evergreens, and so grouped that no art of man could have produced the beautiful appearance which the hand of nature had effected. Here was every shade of green, from the dark cypress to the pale olive; the ilex, arbutus, holly, ivy, and oak, with several other trees, the names of which were unknown to me. Some were covered with abundance of white or scarlet berries. This description of scenery predominates over every other, all the way to Smyrna. The verdant aspect of the country might have almost persuaded us it was summer, had not a cold north-easter told a contrary tale.

We met, on this and the two following

days, large parties of Armenian Catholics, who were returning, by virtue of a firman, to Constantinople, whence they had been so cruelly banished two years ago. They were all in the highest spirits; and attributed their restoration to the influence of the French and English authorities. This permission related to a certain number of Armenians. It was expected that it would eventually be extended to all who had been banished for the same cause; however, up to the period of my leaving Turkey, nearly two months afterwards, no such leave had been granted.

Of all the unwise acts of this wretched government, few can vie in folly with the banishment of the Catholic Armenians; a measure equally cruel, impolitic, and unjust.

The Armenian nation was formerly of one sect, which bore, in its observances, a great affinity to the Greek church. In process of time, several Armenians were converted to the Catholic persuasion. These conversions were first begun through the agency of a Dominican

friar named Bartholomew, as far back as the beginning of the fourteenth century. Since that period they have been continually on the increase, partly by the exertions of the missionaries, and partly by the marriages of Frank Catholics with Armenian women, who have adopted the faith of their husbands, and brought up their children in the same belief. Hence sprung up a sect of dissenters from the established church, which rose, by degrees, to equal in riches and respectability any class of Turkish subjects.

This difference in religion created numerous quarrels, till at length it was decided by the court of Rome, that the priests of the schismatic sect (as they are falsely called, seeing that they profess the religion of their forefathers) should have the exclusive right of administering the sacrament, of marrying, of baptising, of burying, and of appropriating to themselves all the profits arising from these functions; and that the priests of the Catholic Armenians should be entitled only to the emo-

lument to be drawn from hearing confessions, performing divine service, from repeating masses for the souls of the dead, and from the chance charity of their flock.

With such limited privileges, it could have hardly been thought that the schismatic church would have considered it worth its while to interfere: still less was it to be expected that the sultan, the commander of the faithful, should take a part in the religious differences of his infidel subjects: the result proved the contrary. A khatty sherif was issued by the sultan, by which the whole tribe of Catholic Armenians were ordered to attend the schismatic church, and to renounce the pope. This they declined to do; and the patriarch, in consequence, refused them the protection of the church.

To understand rightly the effect of withholding such protection, it is necessary to say a few words on the manner in which the business of religious sects is conducted in the Turkish government.

Amongst the Turks, it is the custom of every parish, that six respectable old men, who have been brought up in the place, should answer for the conduct of the imaum, and the imaum again is responsible for the rest of his parish. If one of his parishioners misbehave, the protection of the church is withheld from him, and he becomes subject to the extreme penalty of the civil law.

In like manner, the Christians have a body of old men, who are answerable for their chief priest, with this difference, that they have twelve, instead of six, persons as security. The Christian priest has, like the imaum, the privilege of protecting his flock; and the withholding such protection entails upon the person so dismissed from the pale of the church, the same consequences as on the rejected follower of Mahomet.

But to return to my story. The Armenians thus excommunicated, were in the habit of performing their devotions with the Frank Catholics, but their church could not grant them

protection, as the clergyman was a Frank; and none but a rayah, or native priest, could have this privilege.

A deadly feud broke out between the two sects, each party endeavouring, by calumny, and gifts to the divan, to obtain immunities and advantages over their brethren.

When the war between Russia and Persia broke out, the Catholic Armenians in the latter country assisted Russia. Of this, the schismatic Armenians did not fail to avail themselves. It was represented to the sultan, that the Catholics would act in the same manner in his own dominions, now that the Russians were invading his territories. They also suggested, that the Catholics, by going to the Frank churches, had imbibed the feelings of Europeans, and had become their spies and emissaries; and that, unless banished, they would succeed in their alleged conspiracy against his highness's life and empire.

Prior to the intrigue which procured the banishment of the Catholic Armenians, they

were most regarded by the sultan, and were employed as serafs, or bankers, to his highness. Dusoglu, a wealthy Catholic Armenian, was at this time in high favour with Mahmoud, who appointed him to the lucrative office of master of the mint. In the service of Dusoglu was a schismatic Armenian, of the name of Cazas Artin, who is said to have been under great obligations to his master, and (according to the best information I could procure) to have repaid these obligations by procuring the death of his benefactor.

This Cazas Artin, though he can neither read nor write, is an excellent arithmetician, and a man of considerable talent. He is reported to have been the organ of the misrepresentation against the Catholic Armenians. Whether or not this statement of the cause of the Catholics' misfortune be true, I cannot say; but the effect is known. Dusoglu was decapitated; and the servant, whom he had loaded with favours, succeeded him in his office. A second khatty sherif was now issued, com-

manding all Catholic Armenians to quit Constantinople, for Anatolia, on pain of death. Ten days only were allowed them for their preparations. It was the depth of winter when this cruel order was given. Ten thousand souls, comprising the old, the maimed, the sick, women far gone with child, were thus forced from their homes, without being able to furnish themselves with provisions, or other necessaries, for such a journey. Many perished with cold; numbers were drowned in crossing the streams; and twelve families were lost, nearly at the same time, in the Sakariah Sou (river). Those Armenians who were able to carry their families with them, were allowed to do so; but some were obliged to leave their wives and children behind. Whenever a woman so left was known to have had parents of the old schismatic church, she was invited again to enter it; but on her refusal, she had an iron chain fixed round her neck, by which she was dragged to the patriarch khana, and there condemned to hard

labour. Numbers of them have had the resolution to prefer this drudgery to a second recantation.

These people, at the time of their banishment, comprised nearly the richest portion of the Turkish subjects. They were allowed to take with them their movable property; but were obliged to sell their houses to the highest bidders; and on the plea that the land, on which these houses were built, belonged to the crown, the sultan assumed to himself the right of selecting the purchasers, none but the faithful being admitted to this privilege. The consequence was, that the Turks having but little money, and there being no competitors, the houses sometimes sold for one-tenth of their value, the purchase-money being paid into the hands of government. The poorer class were obliged to submit to these hard conditions; but those who could afford it, left the purchase-money in the treasury, in the hope of being eventually restored to their

former possessions. Nearly all the best houses of Pera, as well as those on the banks of the Bosphorus, were the property of Catholic Armenians: one of these, which stands at a short distance from our ambassador's country house at Therapia, belonged to Tingeroglu, one of the principal Armenians in Turkey. The grand signor offered to purchase it, at the same ratio of price as that at which the residences of other Christians were sold; but the Armenian declined the money, saying, "My life and all my possessions are yours, dispose of it and them as you please." The grand signor did as he pleased: he banished the landlord, and constituted himself his tenant; thus taking advantage of his own decree against the Catholics, and setting an example to his courtiers, which they did not fail to emulate.

The trifling popularity the sultan might have gained by confining the sale of the Christians' houses to Mahometan purchasers,

was more than counterbalanced by the distress which this persecution brought upon many of the Turks themselves. This people, holding commerce, as well as most useful arts, in contempt, were in the habit of putting their money out to interest. By the Ottoman law, they are allowed to place it in the bezestan, from which they receive so small a return, that very few have been induced to avail themselves of this privilege, but have preferred lending it to the Armenian, who gave them double the interest they could obtain from the government bank.

Before the departure of the Armenians, the Turks who had banked with them came for their money; but the Armenians replied, that they had left behind them their houses and property, which must answer all demands. For each sum so lodged, the Armenian merchant had given to the lender a written receipt. With this document the Turk goes to the treasury, and asks for his dividend of the

sale of his banker's house: but the only answer he receives is, "You have lost your money; and it serves you right, for having any dealings with Christian dogs."

CHAPTER X.

The River Draco — Kizderbent — Bulgarian Landlady — Impolitic Abuse of the Turkish Government — Contest of Wolves — Kirk Mirdevend — Lake Ascanius — Isnik, the ancient Nicæa — A Greek Inscription — River Gallus — Lefkeh, the ancient Leucæ — Inscriptions — Greek Bishop — Turkish Conscripts — Vizier Khan — Ancient Agrilium — Mount Olympus — A Tartar with Specie — Town of Shughut — The Birth-place of Ali Osman, the Founder of the Turkish Dynasty.

It is now high time to be again on the road. We crossed several hills. Looking towards the north-west, we saw a large plain, watered by the river Draco, which, after many windings, falls into the sea near Hersek. It was in this direction that we ought to have gone, instead of making the circuit by Kara Mousall. This stream is so tortuous, that Colonel Leake crossed it nearly twenty times. Procopius makes the same remark.

After descending the other side of the evergreen mountain, we came to an Armenian village, containing seventy houses. It was surrounded by mulberry-trees, which are here cultivated for the breed of silk-worms that supply the populous town of Brusa with the silk for the stuffs for which it is so famed. We here crossed and recrossed the Draco several times, and then traversed a succession of gradual slopes in a south-easterly direction, leaving the main road to our left, as it was too heavy for our horses.

In another hour we arrived at the village of Kizderbent, where we were accommodated with a comfortable lodging at the house of a Bulgarian. Our hostess, though advanced in years, still shewed considerable marks of beauty. She was a very merry old lady, and submitted to the broad practical jokes of my handsome Tartar with much complacency.

Kizderbent, or Virgin Pass, derives its name from the gorge of the mountains in which it is situated. It contains about one

hundred houses, and the inhabitants are all Bulgarians. The manner in which it is disposed of, will exemplify one of the numerous impolitic abuses which exist in this country; and describe a fate common to many towns in Asiatic Turkey.

It is one of twelve villages, which have been granted by the grand signior to a lady of the Seraglio. This lady sells them by wholesale to her Armenian banker, and he again retails them to the Turks. The new purchasers come down, take a tithe of the silk, the principal article here, and of every other commodity. They, besides, live entirely on the property of their purchased tenantry, by which means the produce of the land is taxed for the emolument of three descriptions of persons, who have no other interest in the soil than the gains that can be wrung from the labours of the unfortunate cultivator; who has, besides these burdens, to meet the heavy impost laid on him by the Porte, which

in this village amounts to eight thousand piastres.

The other nine villages are Kara Mousall, Chiflik, Toushanli, Akher, Lelehderesee, Kelekieu, Kara Sepehkieu, and two others near Chinisli.

Round the house we occupied, which was at the outskirts of the town, a large party of wolves assembled, and amused themselves by serenading us with a howling chorus throughout the night.

December 10. Kizderbent to Lefkeh.—This day's march was twelve hours.

We quitted the village, to enter upon the pass. It lay between two mountains, running parallel to each other, north and south. The mouth of the gorge was covered with evergreens; but as we proceeded, we saw only stunted oaks. We overtook on our way several hundred camels, each preceded, according to invariable custom, by a small ass. In the

muddy parts of the plain, the huge, dish-shaped feet of these useful beasts had much injured the road, the print of each step leaving a hole the depth of a horse-pail: but their march in the mountains was rather advantageous than otherwise to us travellers on horseback, as their progress was marked by a succession of steps as regular as if formed by art. We felt the benefit of these in the descent into the plains, which is almost perpendicular. It is possibly from this cause that the pass is here called *Kirk Mirdevend*, or "the forty ladders."

From the summit of the Kirk Mirdevend we had a fine view of the Lake Ascanius and the beautiful plain by which it is bounded. At the base of the hill we came to a circular patch of flat land, which has this peculiarity, that it is overflowed and forms a small lake in the summer, but is quite dry during the winter.

We marched for several miles, hovering

about the shores of the Ascanius, and passing in our way through an immense forest of olives. The vineyards here were very extensive; the fruit had not yet been gathered in. A villager plucked some grapes for us, which were quite delicious.

To the north-east we saw the picturesque villages of Omar and Ali Bey. We then crossed a handsome but ruined bridge over a rivulet called the *Kara Sou,* or " black water," which disembogues into the lake a short distance below.

At some distance to our left we saw an obelisk that had been raised in honour of C. Cassius Philiseus. The inscription upon it is to be found in Pococke. A little further on, we passed through the deserted village of Moara; and in half an hour more came to the beautiful and ivy-mantled walls which enclose all that now remains of the ancient Nicæa, the walls of which, in high preservation, are washed by the lake. It was once

the proud metropolis of Bithynia,* and the seat of this country's former sovereigns.

Under its present name of Isnik, it still contains a small population; but "lessened has been that small," in the late disastrous struggle against the Russians; nearly all the inhabitants having been sent to fill the ranks which death has so thinned.

We continued for some time passing through tenantless streets, and at length arrived at the post-house. This portion of the town can boast a small population; but nearly all the shops were closed, and for one inhabitant I saw at least five soldiers. With such an appearance of desolation, it was much above my expectation that I succeeded in purchasing a quarter of scraggy mutton.

* Νίκαια ἡ μητρόπολις τῆς Βιθυνίας ἐπὶ τῇ Ἀσκανίᾳ λίμνῃ. — (STRABO, lib. xii. p. 565.) Deinde Nicæa, in ultimo Ascanio sinu.—(PLINY.) See also Ptolemy, Stephanus, and Memnon, in voce Νίκαια. The last-named author has given a detailed description of the amours of Bacchus and the nymph Nicæa, from whom this town was said to derive its name.

We started again with a fresh set of horses, and quitted Isnik by an old Greek arched gateway: over it is an inscription which has also been copied by Pococke.

We continued a south-east course, through a plain twelve miles long and three broad, bounded to our right and left by a ridge of hills running east and west. The slopes were completely covered with evergreens, and several small villages were observable on both sides of us, on the face of the mountains.

In three hours and a half, or in about eleven miles' journey, we diverged to our right; and instead of gradually sloping hills, we passed along the narrow ridge of a mountain of abrupt masses of rock, with a precipice above and below us. At a sudden turn of the road I observed what appeared to me a Greek inscription; but the day was far advanced, and the light was unfavourable for a more minute observation.

From this sculpture we came in sight of another spacious plain, surrounded on all sides

by detached hills of different sizes, of a sugar-loaf shape. Through this plain flows the river Sakaria, the corrupted form of the ancient name Sangarius; though, as Colonel Leake observes, this is not the main stream of the Sangarius, but that branch of it formerly called Gallus.* Strabo enumerates the Sangarius as one of the rivers which flow between Chalcedon and Heraclea. The greater stream he describes as running through Phrygia Epictetus, and states a branch of it to pass through Bithynia, three hundred stadia from Nicomedia, in which place it is joined by the river Gallus.† Now, as the situation of Nicomedia is identified with the Iznimid of the Turks, a few hours' journey to the northward, it satisfactorily shews that the Gallus is the stream we crossed.

We passed the Sakariah by a handsome

* Leake's Asia Minor, p. 12.

† Μέρος δέ τι καὶ τῆς Βιθυνίας ὥστε καὶ τῆς Νικομηδείας ἀποχεῖν μικρὸν πλείους, ἢ τριακοσίους σταδίους, καθ' οὓς συμβάλλου ποταμὸς αὐτῷ Γάλλος.—(Strabo, lib. xii. p. 543.)

stone bridge of five arches. Here we overtook a caravan of Armenians, having several mules laden with Turkish goods, and some few bales of European manufacture.

Three miles from the bridge we entered the town of Lefkeh, where we halted for the night.

The town of Lefkeh, which has rather a neat appearance, contains about four hundred houses; but, like its neighbours, it has been robbed of nearly one-third of its inhabitants to supply the exigencies of the late war. The name of Lefkeh, or, as the modern Greek would write it Λεύκαι,* remains unaltered from that by which it is mentioned in Anna Comnena's account of the expedition of her father, the emperor Alexius Comnenas, against the Turks, in the crusade of 1096.

I did not hear of any Greek inscriptions; but my friend Dr. Hall, who was here a few

* The letters ευ have the sound of *ef* in the Romaic language.

years ago, found two, of which the following are copies:—

No. 1.	No. 2.
ΑΣΛΗΙΠΟ	ΑΓΑΘΗΤΧΗΔΙΙΑ
ΚΑΤΑΕΠΙΤΑ	ΓΑΘΙΩ..ΑΖ..Ω
ΓΗΝΟ....	ΚΑΙΡΟΥΦΕΙΝΑΡΗΤ
ΔΑ	ΘΣΚΑΙ..ΑΖΙ..ΟΣΑΝ
ΟΛΛ	ΕΘΗΚΑΝΙΤΕΙΕΑΥ
ΥΥΠΘ	ΤΩΝΚΑΠΩΝΙΑΙΩ
ΤΟΥΚΑΙ	ΠΑΝ ΕΥΧΗΣΧΑΡΙΝ
ΔΙΩΝ	

Both inscriptions are in the corrupt character of the Lower Empire. Number 1. is a votive offering to Æsculapius, and has on it his emblem, the figure of a serpent. Number 2. is sacred to Jupiter.

We were disturbed in the night by the arrival of a Greek bishop at the post-house. He was returning to Constantinople, whence he had been banished a few years ago. He seemed very anxious to shorten the period of his exile, as he only stopped to change horses.

December 11. Lefkeh to Inoghi, eighteen hours. — Our route lay between south and south-west. Two hours after leaving Lefkeh, we came to the narrow gorge of a mountain called Vizier Khan Boghazeh, or "throat of the Vizier Khan," which derives its name from a village at which we stopped to breakfast.

The valley which comprises this pass is well watered, and highly cultivated throughout. There is abundance of corn and rice grown here, but the mulberry for the silk-worm occupies the greater space, and much care seems to have been taken in its cultivation. The scenery is very grand; huge perpendicular masses of rock rearing their rugged heads on all sides of us.

Half way through this pass we were witnesses to what, it is to be feared, is a common sight to the inhabitants, but quite new to myself,— a party of soldiers were in charge of thirty-two Turkish prisoners, the whole of whom were lads; the youngest about thirteen years old, and the age of the eldest could

not exceed twenty. I inquired their story of the guard: it is one to which a parallel might be furnished by almost every village in Asia Minor. They were all going, against their will, to fill up the vacancies in the Turkish army. So averse had they and their families been to the new system of raising troops, that when the government authorities made their appearance, they, in common with every person liable to be called upon to bear arms, fled into the mountains, with a small bag of bread a-piece, and remained there, even during this inclement season, in the patient endurance of every hardship, rather than adopt a military system which their priests had denounced as an impious invention. Troops were despatched in search of the fugitives. Many still remained concealed; but the poor wretches we met had been lately caught. They had already suffered the bastinado: it was conjectured, that they would make their escape the first opportunity.

I should mention, that besides the prisoners chained by the neck, there were five

young men at liberty, who were going of their own free will,—if free will it can be called, where the option lies between being driven or dragged.

Carle told me, that the day before we left Constantinople, he had seen fifty youths enlisted into the service, not one of whom entered of his own accord, but that they all burst into tears, and bitterly lamented their hard fate.

With the knowledge of such a fact, who can feel surprise at the Russians' success?

Four hours' ride brought us to Vizier Khan, or the Vizier's Inn, whence the village derives its name. This building is the most commodious of any khan I saw in Turkey. It forms the side of a street, and is approached at each extremity by gates, which, I was told, are closed at night.

The building is attributed to the vizier Oglou Kieuperli, son of the celebrated Mehmet Kieuperli, the grand vizier to Mahomet the Fourth. At his father's death, he succeeded him in his high office, and contributed equally

with his sire to raise the glory of the Ottoman empire. The name of Kieuperli is one on which the Turk dwells with pride. I have heard it as often mentioned in Turkey, as I did that of Giafar, the vizier of Haroun Alraschid, at Bagdad.

Colonel Leake considers Vizier Khan to be the ancient Agrilium. Dr. Hall was told that at this place there was a sarcophagus with an inscription on it. I did not see any myself.

We halted here for an hour to breakfast, and after satisfying our thirst, gave the rest of our wooden bottle of wine, containing nearly a quart, to the surijee, who drank it off at a draught. The potation, thin as it was, had a wonderful effect on his unpractised head; he jumped into the saddle, and made our poor beasts continue to gallop over hill and dale, in spite of the rocks and mud through which the road lay.

The ascent here leads across a range of the Bithynian Olympus. We saw, on the summit of these hills, numerous fragments of white

marble columns, and observed several others scattered about the place. It is probable that here formerly stood some temple. The country was rocky and uncultivated, and there was an unusual deficiency of trees for this region, where they are generally so abundant. We saw but few villages; those that were visible produced abundance of fruit: one of them, called Teereh, is celebrated for its quinces. On leaving the mountains, we entered upon a fine open country.

We met, in the course of the day, a Tartar in charge of specie, the tribute of the island of Cyprus (the Kybris of the Turks). By the Turkish regulations, a Tartar having treasure consigned to his care may only travel by day.

At four in the afternoon we entered the town of Shughut, built on the side of a mountain, on the ridge of a rocky precipice, which looks down on a beautiful rivulet, that may be seen pursuing its course along the valley below.

Our dinner here consisted of a Turkish

cubaub, or skewer of roasted meat, piping hot from the cook's shop. The dish was very palatable; though fastidious persons would have objected to the cleanliness of the cooking process, which was performed in a dirty open shop, by a Turk who seemed a stranger to those ablutions enjoined by his creed.

Our meal being despatched, we took a rapid stroll over the town. It was market-day; and the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages had come to lay in their week's supply. Our Frank dresses excited some curiosity and much laughter from a group of noisy boys, who kept close at our heels wherever we went. It was evident that they had never before seen Europeans in the national dress; the few that had taken this comparatively unbeaten track, principally pretenders to medicine, always wearing the costume of the country.

Among the European articles exposed for sale, we saw abundance of coarse English stuffs, a few bales of German cloth, and some small articles of Italian cutlery.

Shughut is held in high veneration by the Osmanlis, as containing the tomb of Ali Osman, the founder of the Turkish dynasty.

Colonel Leake was at Shughut in the year 1800. It could then boast nine hundred habitations. Seven hundred are still standing, but of these, one-third are unoccupied; they remain mere shells of houses, and appeared to be fast tumbling into ruins. This scene of desolation has been produced by the Russian war. The former residents have been forcibly dragged from their homes, to recruit the losses of the Turkish army in the last campaign.

CHAPTER XI.

A Night March — Inoghi — Ancient Greek Fragments — Cross the Thymbres, and arrive at Kutaya — Bologlou, an Armenian — Hummaum — The Turks an ill-made Race — Visit the Mooselim — Conversation on the Battle of Navarin — Search for Antiquities — Prison — Account of a late Mutiny — Catholic Armenians — A hearty old Woman — Disaffection of the Armenian Catholics towards the Government — Sultan's want of Policy — Historical Notices on Cotyæum — Modern Kutaya — Its Trade — Rapid Depopulation.

At a quarter before five we were again in the saddle; night shortly after coming on, left us, in utter darkness, to grope our way along the brink of precipices: our horses, however, seemed used to the business, for they followed close upon each other's heels, and kept their files well locked.

An hour from Shughut, we began ascending a forest mountain; here our ears were nearly stunned with the noise of rushing waters below us. As we proceeded, we passed through several clouds, and then traversed a region of snow, which we did not quit till after having for some time continued to descend. As the moon rose, it presented to us some well-grown trees. Though we had been enveloped in clouds during our ascent, we had to endure the piercing cold of a frost as soon as we quitted the mountains.

The plain we now entered is six miles broad and twelve long: we crossed it, and at its opposite boundary arrived at the village of Inoghi, having completed a march nominally of eighteen hours' distance.

The only lodging procurable was a small wretched coffee-house, where we had to endure the horrors of being nearly stifled from the combined effects of bad ventilation, charcoal fires, and the company of about twenty snoring Turks.

Inoghi is situated at the base of a bluff perpendicular range of rocky mountains: it contains four hundred houses, the inhabitants of which are all Turks. The only persons I saw were children, or men with long beards; all the lads of the town having been sent to the army.

December 12. Inoghi to Kutaya.—Before I quitted Inoghi, I went in search of antiquities. I could find no inscriptions, though there were the fragments of several Grecian pillars in the Turkish burying-ground. In the rocky side of the mountain, were some natural caverns, and some also that were evidently artificial excavations. The inhabitants told me, that half way up the mountain there was a Hissar, or castle, in which was a long inscription. I very much wished to have visited it, but was informed, that in consequence of the frost, the side of the rock was so slippery as to render the ascent impossible.

The only European traveller besides myself,

that I am aware of, who has been at Inoghi, is the late General Koehler, who left Constantinople with Colonel Leake in the year 1800. He, as well as myself, was unable to visit this castle, which I consider to be the same as the cavern which was shut up in front by a wall with battlement and towers, as mentioned by Leake in his description of the general's journey. It is to be hoped, that as the facilities of travelling in Asia Minor are now so much increased, some traveller will visit Inoghi in the summer months, and bring home a copy of the inscription.

After ascending the first mountain, upon the top of which the snow lay very thick, we continued for some time to pass over a succession of ridges, with broad open plains intervening: we then came on a large grass valley adorned with evergreens, and watered by the Thymbres, or the Pursek, as it is called by the Turks. We then passed over several hills, and entered upon a vast plain, through which the Thymbres runs. We crossed this

stream several times, and arrived in the afternoon at the town of Kutaya, a distance of twelve hours from the last stage.

By the kindness of Dr. Millingen, I had been provided with a letter for Bologlou, one of the principal Armenians of the town. The moment he received it, he paid me a visit at the khan, and on my declining his kind offer of a room in his house, he sent me a mattress and quilted coverlet, two articles of luxury to which I had long been a stranger; besides this civility, he presented me with some wine and vegetables for my dinner. Speaking of the vegetables of Kutaya, all of which are excellent, I must not forget the cabbages, which I suppose to be the largest in the world; so large, indeed, that I dare not risk my reputation for truth in stating their exact dimensions, knowing that many Englishmen are incredulous as to the size even of the turnips of my native country of Norfolk.

December 13. One day's halt at Kutaya.—

My first visit this morning was to the Hummaum (public bath), whither I went with Mustapha. I had always imagined this Tartar to be a stout, muscular young man, of about thirty; but I was not a little surprised to see him, now that he was divested of his numerous cloaks and furs, dwindled into a meagre fellow of nearly sixty years of age. His mustaches were always of the brightest black, their natural colour, as he told me; but the covering of the lip did not match at all with that of the head, for, when he took off his high cap, he discovered to me a week's growth of silver hair.

The impression, and I believe it is a general one, that the Turks are stoutly built, has evidently arisen from the appearance they formerly presented in their loose flowing robes; but whoever has seen their army in their tight uniforms, will alter this opinion, and will be convinced, as I was by seeing Mustapha this morning, that the Osmanlis are a narrow-shouldered and spindle-legged race, and very inferior in physical force to any European nation.

After my bath I smoked a pipe, and drank coffee with the mooselim, or governor of the town. He asked me if Turkey was still at war with Russia; and received the intelligence of the ratification of peace, as if he now heard it for the first time. I found all the Turks in Asia Minor, whether in or out of office, in a similar state of ignorance. The reverse was the case with regard to the Greeks, who seemed acquainted with every article of the treaty, and always expressed regret that no mention had been made of them.

The governor spoke of England as the *eski dost* (the old friend) of Turkey. Alluding to the battle of Navarin, he said, "Our two countries have occasionally had some trifling points of difference; but the best friends will sometimes quarrel, and such disputes only bind us more closely to one another."

When the mooselim spoke of the destruction of the Turkish fleet as a trifling point of difference, whatever meaning he wished to

convey, he certainly literally expressed the sentiments of his countrymen in general; for, from all that I could learn, the feeling of the Turks was not anger at the defeat of Navarin, but chagrin that the blow was not followed up, and the business brought to a conclusion, by the only means that could effect it, namely, force.

It is said, that previous to that action, whenever the ambassadors had any conference with the reis effendy, the Turkish minister availed himself very skilfully of the difficulties that arose from our interposing in favour of the Greeks, by requesting explanation of the principles on which the allied governments interfered between the Porte and its subjects.

The mooselim sent two kavasses with me, to accompany me in my search after antiquities. I looked in vain for Greek inscriptions. Dr. Hall tells me that he was equally unsuccessful. I observed within the town several portions of ancient Greek masonry, particularly in some of the khans. This was easily

distinguishable by the contrast in solidity, offered to the rickety buildings of Turkish construction. My search was not satisfactory, nor was it likely to be so; for I was surrounded by a crowd of children, whom curiosity had brought at my heels, and whose importunities were highly unfavourable to antiquarian research. A Turkish dress would have exempted me from this annoyance.

At a point of the hill, immediately overhanging the town, is a Greek castle in high preservation. I saw at the gate a handsome statue of a lion, in white marble. It was broken in two, but the pieces were only at a small distance from each other. In the interior of the castle I was shewn a prison, which my guides affirmed to be ancient. There was a large wooden machine in the middle of the room, evidently of a more modern date. It was for securing prisoners' legs, on the principle of our stocks. This place had not been used as a prison within the memory of any Turk, until a short time before my arrival.

It appears that there had been a mutiny amongst some troops who were passing through Kutaya, on their way to Constantinople, the men having refused to obey their officers. The ring-leaders were secured, and put into this prison. One of them was sentenced to be strangled, and a kavass who attended me was, as is a part of his duty, the person deputed to carry the sentence into effect. This man told me that he kept the rope round the culprit's neck for half an hour, waiting the order to finish the sentence; but that the order was not given, and the mutineer was pardoned. Such lenity, in a government not very remarkable for this quality, tells its own story. The authorities were too much aware of the general spirit of disaffection in the troops, to venture to punish this act of insubordination.

In the evening I returned to Bologlou's, where I found a large party of Catholics assembled, who had been invited to meet me at dinner. Many of them were on their return to Constantinople, from banishment, and

were in a state of glee very much at variance with the usually steady demeanour of this people. One of the guests was a young man who was on his return with his grandmother, a woman upwards of eighty. When the order for banishment arrived, not knowing what to do with her, he put her into a pannier slung across a horse, and in this manner she had travelled upwards of a hundred miles in the most inclement weather. The good grandson had often given up his aged relative for lost; but she weathered all the storms, and was now travelling homewards, not a jot the worse for her country jaunt.

Hearing one of the men speak Romaic, I asked him whether he was a Greek or an Armenian. "I am neither," was his reply; "I have nothing to do with those heretics! I am a Latin." As the wine, or rather the *raki*, circulated, the guests became very loquacious, and were not sparing in their abuse of the sultan, attributing their recall to the interference of the European authorities, rather than to any measure

resulting from the grand signior's free will. From the observations I heard this evening, as well as from the subsequent discourses I held with the Armenian Catholics, I am convinced that the foolish conduct of the grand signior, in banishing this people, will produce the very evil it was intended to prevent. It will convert into a discontented and dangerous class, men whose habits of passive obedience and non-resistance had induced the Turks to compare them to that most mild, patient, and useful of eastern animals,—the camel.

Strabo,* Pliny,† and Stephanus,‡ mention Cotyæum as one of the cities of Phrygia Epictetus; Ptolemy§ classes it amongst the great towns of Phrygia. According to Suidas,‖ it

* Τῆς δ' Ἐπικλήτου Φρυγίας, Ἀζανοί τε εἰσί, καὶ Νακόλεια, καὶ Κοτυάειον, καὶ Μιδάειον, καὶ Δορύλαιον πόλεις, καὶ Κάδοι· τοὺς δὲ Κάδους ἔνιοι, τῆς Μυσίας φασίν.—STRABO, lib. xii. p. 576.

† Plin. lib. v. cap. 32.

‡ Stephan. Byzant. *in voce* Κοτυάειον.

§ Ptol. Geog. lib. v. cap. 2, p. 120.

‖ Vide Suidas *in voce* Κοτυάειον.

was the birth-place of Æsop, the celebrated author of the fables. In the Alexandrian Chronicles there is an account of a Saint Menas, who, in the year 267, testified, at Cotuayio in Phrygia, the ascent of our Saviour.* The town is also mentioned by Socrates and Eustathius.

"The only point in General Koehler's route which can be considered absolutely certain is Cotyæum. The position of that city in Phrygia Epictetus, not far from Nacoleia and Dorylæum, agrees perfectly with that of Kutáya, the resemblance of which name to the Greek Κοτυάειον is still more striking, when we observe the identity of accent."†

The modern town has eight thousand houses, and comprises a population of Armenians, Greeks, and Turks. The Armenian

* Ετους σξζ΄ της εις ουρανους αναλημψεως του Κυριου προχειμενουν υπατων εμαρτυρην ο αγιος Μηνας εν Κοτυαειω Φρυγιας σαλαταριας. . —*Alex. Chron.* p. 642.

† Leake's Asia Minor, p. 145.

houses amount to four hundred and ten, of which three hundred belong to Catholics, and two hundred and eighty to those who are called the Schismatics. The Greeks have four hundred houses, and the remainder are occupied by Turks.

The town is in the jurisdiction of a mooselim, or governor, who is delegated by the Pasha of Aleppo, in whose sandjak, or district, it is, and tributary to it are thirty-two villages. It carries on a considerable trade with Constantinople, Brusa, Smyrna, and Cyprus, as also with Aleppo, and all the principal towns lying between it and Bagdad. It is evidently owing to its central situation, so advantageous for commerce, that it continues populous; while other towns mentioned by Strabo, and evidently of more importance in former times, have dwindled into insignificant villages.

The principal imports are French and English cottons; and the exports, wool, the goat's hair, of which shawls are made, hare skins, and a considerable quantity of opium; of this

last article, three thousand ochs were exported this year.

The depopulating system of levying troops has not been less felt here than in other parts of the Turkish empire. Since the commencement of the war, twenty-five thousand men have been impressed into the service. At the beginning of the levies, it was signified to the inhabitants that young men only were required; consequently, no persons with beards were liable to be called upon. This intimation produced an immediate cultivation of hair on the chin; but the exterminating disasters of the war having completely expended the supply of youthful recruits, the government authorities were obliged to enlist persons of a more advanced age; but to keep their promise inviolate, of not impressing bearded men, they shaved them first, and then sent them to fill up the deficiencies in the ranks of the faithful. The number sent to the army last year amounted to four hundred, not one of whom, as I understand, but marched to head-quarters with his

arms pinioned, and a chain round his neck. The levies of the year (1829) had only just begun; sixty had been already taken by force, but there had not been a single volunteer; such antipathy have they to the service, that those whose employment it was to cut wood, have ceased to work, lest they should be taken. The consequences of such a system need hardly be mentioned. A great portion of the Turkish houses are empty, the inhabitants having been torn from them for military employments. None but old men remain to cultivate the land; and all the trades or handicrafts in which the Turks usually employ themselves are at a stand. As an example of this last circumstance, I sent to-day for some wooden pipe-bowls, inlaid with brass, for which Kutaya is remarkable. My servant returned without them, telling me that the bowl-makers were all soldiers, that but one man remained, and that he had only two bowls at his disposal.

CHAPTER XII.

Preliminary Remarks — Geographical Accuracy of Colonel Leake — Free Quarters — Consequences of the Recruiting System — Beards — Supper — Soosooskieu — Chaji-Kieu — Tjavdere Hissar, the Ancient Azani — General Appearance of the Ruins — Bridges — Theatre — Remarks of Colonel Leake on the Forms of Asiatic Theatres — Hippodrome — Temple of Jupiter — Inscriptions — Coins — Historical Notices on Azani — Dinner — Extreme Cold.

December 14. Kutaya to Tatar Bazarjik.—FROM Constantinople to Kutaya, my journey had been along the high road to Egypt, in a south-easterly direction; but from Kutaya to Smyrna, it led to the southward and westward, through the ancient Phrygia and Lydia.

Colonel Leake, speaking of the line of march which I pursued, observes: "It is in the unexplored part of Phrygia Epictetus, lying between the Thymbres and the branches of the Rhyn-

dacus, on the southern side of the Olympene mountains, that the future traveller will seek for the Phrygian cities of Cadi, Azani, and Synaus.

"The Azanitis, or district of Azani, contained the sources of the river Rhyndacus."*

I went in the direction pointed out by Colonel Leake, and came upon two of the cities, Cadi and Azani, which he suggested the future traveller ought to find; a circumstance which must be highly gratifying to that most accurate geographer.

I left Kutaya at eleven in the morning. The first part of the march was occupied in the ascent of that mountain, at the base of which the town is situated. At nearly the summit, the surijee pointed to a place which he called the source of the Pursek; over it is a kiosk, built by some pasha, whose name I could not learn. At the bottom of the mountain I crossed a small bridge: I was told that

* Leake's Asia Minor, p. 168.

there was a stone here with a long inscription; I looked for it, but was not successful in my search.

The road for four hours and a half was either over hills or through valleys: the country was, generally speaking, depopulated, though here and there we passed some small Turkish villages, but those in ruins were more numerous than those inhabited. They were all built of stone, and afford presumptive evidence of ancient buildings; for, as I have had occasion to remark in numerous instances, a Turkish peasant will not take the trouble to employ stones for building unless he find them ready prepared to hand.

I was informed by Dr. Millingen, that at four hours' distance from Kutaya, in the same direction as that in which I was travelling, there was an ancient castle, at a place called Kerislar. For this edifice I made the most diligent search, but without success, from which, it is to be presumed, I did not pursue exactly the same route.

In a ride of five hours and a half we entered upon a spacious plain: here, as we were stopping to let our horses drink at a fountain, my attention was attracted by some Greek letters. After considerable trouble in removing the stones, I discovered a small portion of the inscription. It was on a sepulchral tomb-stone, of which I afterwards saw many similar in the plain.

.. ΣΚΛΗΠΙΙΑΣΚΑΙΟ..ΟΔΜCΙ
ΑΔΗΣΧΑΡΙΝ.

From the letters which remain, the inscription evidently refers to Æsculapius.

I arrived in the afternoon at a Turkish village called Tatar Bazarjik: it contains a few wretched hovels built of stone. I had intended to have gone to a village further on in the plain, but was arrested by a Greek-inscribed column, which I stopped to copy; and darkness coming on, I was obliged to halt here for the night. This stone, which was the upper part of the shaft, had only recently been discovered by the old men while digging for stones

to build their houses. This relic of the ancient Giaours had been applied to a curious purpose by the true believers. At the feast of the Ramazan, the old inhabitants hire a priest, whom they perch upon it, and thence make him call the hour of prayer. It now stands about three feet out of the ground; sculptured on it is a wreath of ivy, and above it the words as here given:—

ΤΡΥΦΩΝΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΥΔΙΙ
ΚΑΙΤΟΙΣΒΕΝΝΕΙΤΑΙΣ.

Τρύφων Μενισκου Διϊ
καὶ τοις Βεννειταις.

'Tryphon, son of Meniskus,
To Jupiter and the Benneitæ.

'This I take to have been the site of a town named Benna, the natives of which were called Βεννεῖται, to distinguish them from the Βενναῖοι, of Benna, in Thrace.'—(See STEPHANUS in Βέννα.)*

* This, and all future sentences in this work enclosed in single inverted commas, are the remarks of Colonel Leake, to

Not far from this pillar was a stone, upon which the villagers told me there was a long inscription, in the same character as that I had copied. I set the whole population to work; but it was amidst the ruins of a house that had fallen in, and the frost was so very sharp, that it was impossible to detach it from the other fragments of masonry to which it adhered. Besides this stone, several broken pillars and fragments of ornamental architecture were observable.

Our lodging for the night was a small chamber partitioned off from the bullock-shed; the neighbourhood of the animals was far from being unpleasant, as they contributed to warmth, of which we stood so much in need.

We were no sooner seated, than Mustapha set all the villagers to work to bring us the best dinner they could procure; adding, with em-

whom I submitted my inscriptions, and to whose kindness I am indebted for observations that will throw great light on this hitherto unknown region.

phasis, "You may give us any thing you have, for I am not now on public business, and I intend to pay for what is consumed."

The novel circumstance of a Tartar paying for what he ate and drank, produced a proportionable alacrity on the part of our hosts, who served us up a repast in their best style. The dinner consisted of some soup made of flour, some boiled wheat mixed with eggs, and some cabbage steeped in salt and water; no very palatable fare, but appetites like ours would have relished more humble viands.

Among the numerous inflictions to which this ill-fated peasantry are subject, not the least is, that of being obliged to maintain, free of expense, all travellers in any way connected with the government. Thus, had Mustapha been alone, or though with me, had I not given orders to the contrary, men and horses would have been maintained at the wretched peasants' charge, and blows at parting would probably have been, as it but too often is, the only recompense for their cheer.

Five old peasants, with their wives, and the son of one of the five, comprise the whole population of Tatar Bazarjik. Before the Russian war, this village was sufficiently well peopled to be enabled to hold an annual fair; but impressment and grievous taxation have left only these, who were too old to move. The son was an exception; he was about twenty-five years of age, and had as yet eluded the fangs of Turkish recruiting parties. Hoping to escape by the assumption of a more venerable appearance, he had shut himself up for six weeks in order to enable his beard to grow.

By the Turks of Europe the beard is considered to denote the married man, the bachelor wearing only mustaches. The shaved chin is one of the fashions about which the sultan is very solicitous. He would wish to extend this fashion to his Asiatic subjects; but they are at present too bigotted to ancient usage for him to venture on so dangerous an innovation.

Our supper this evening was acid soup made of flour, boiled wheat, mixed with eggs, and raw cabbage in salt and water.

This miserable little village pays a very heavy tax to the government. The chief contributes six hundred piastres a year, a sum equivalent to sixty per cent of his hard-earned gains.

December 15. Tatar Bazarjik to Tjavdere Hissar. — We started from Tatar Bazarjik at daybreak; it was a fine frosty morning: though the road was one sheet of ice, we kept cantering at the usual Tartar pace. We had not proceeded more than a mile when the baggage horse fell and cut his head and both knees: the cords which held the baggage together broke, and sent my wardrobe flying in all directions. The surijee and Tartar seemed used to these accidents, and five minutes set the matter to rights.

In an hour's ride we reached Soosooskieu, or the "Waterless Village." The place was

strewed with numerous fragments of Grecian architecture: the houses, about ten in number, were built of stone. Dr. Millingen found two inscribed slabs, on one of which were the letters —

ΝΑΝΑΣΑΝΤΕΩΑΝΔΡΙ
ΜΝΗΜΗΣΧΑΡΙΝ
ΝΑΝΑΣΗ..ΑΥΤΗΣΩΣΑ
ΚΑΙΦΡΟΝΟΥΣΑ

The other, containing several lines, begins with —

ΘΕΑΤΑΣ
ΤΗΣΚΑΙΤΗΣΘΥΓΑΤΡΟΣ

Three miles to the southward of Soosoos-kieu is the village of Chaji Kieu. Here I found the same indications of antiquity as at the last village, and discovered a few inscriptions.

The two following are in the court-yard of the mosque. The first on a small altar, ornamented with sculptured wreaths: the second

on a broken stone, forming a part of the pavement leading to the interior.

No. 1.

ΝΣΙ..ΑΝΑΝ
ΟΞΝΕΗΝΙ
ΝΟΜΗΝΟ
ΝΛΟΥΜΝ
ΗΜΗΣΧΑ
ΡΙΝ

No. 2.

ΩΠΓ
ΑΣΙΑΣΚΑΙΔΙ
ΩΚΟΡΩ..ΤΩΝ
ΞΒΑΣΤΩΝΣΜΥ
ΝΙΩΝΠΟΛΕΙΣ
..ΟΝΛΟΥΚΙΟΥ
..ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΥ
....ΕΙΝΟΥ

Number 3. is part of a fountain; a hole has been made in the centre of the inscription to admit the spout.

No. 3.

ΕΤΕΙΜΗΣΕΝΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣΔΙΟΚΛΗΘΣ
ΑΜΙΟΝΤΗΝΓ ΟΥΓΓΥΝΑΙΒΑΦΙΛΟΣ
ΤΟΡΓΙΑΣΚΑΙ ΗΣΕΝΕΘΕΝ
ΟΥΓΑΤΕΡΑ ΙΜΕΝΟΥΜΕΝΕ
ΜΑΧΟΥ..Ε

Number 4. is in the burying-ground.

No. 4.

ΔΗΜΗ
ΙΡΡΟΣΚΑΙ
ΔΙΟΥ..ΗΝΙΝ
Α ΑΣ
ΜΙ

Number 5. on a sepulchral monument.

No. 5.

ΑΝΤΙΟΧΩΠΑΤΡΙ
ΜΝΗΜΗΣΧΑΡΙΝ

From Chaji Kieu, we went W.S.W. for an hour, which brought us to Tjavdere Hissar, a village built entirely of the splendid ruins of the ancient Azani. The beautiful temple had been visible at six miles' distance: our nearer approach to it was marked by lanes formed by a prodigious quantity of prostrate shafts of columns plain and fluted, highly ornamented capitals, and superbly wrought entablatures; rows of erect columns are still standing in

several parts of the village. The burying-grounds are full of architectural fragments, and Greek inscriptions meet the eye at every turn.

These ruins occupy the banks of a river, which, on my return to Constantinople, I ascertained to be the Rhyndacus. Over this stream are two ancient bridges, raised on elliptical arches, and once surmounted by balustrades, as is evident from the remains of metal which formerly retained them in their places: a superb quay connects these bridges together. On the right bank of the river is the temple, from which a communication can be traced to the water's edge. Facing its north front, at about a quarter of a mile distant, is the theatre; and a little to its north-west angle are the remains of a building constructed of huge blocks, standing on a low hill. Thus much for the description of the general appearance of the ruins; but the theatre and temple merit a more particular notice.

Both buildings stand on the right bank

of the Rhyndacus; the northernmost is the theatre. It is built on the slope of a low hill, so that in coming from the north you enter from the level of the ground to the back rows of the cavea, a series of stone benches appointed for the spectators. According to my measurement, the exterior of the diameter of the theatre is 232 feet, and the interior 124. The cavea is bounded on each extremity by a stone wall, which slopes towards the orchestra, parallel with the rows of benches. Near the top on each side is an opening for a window. I endeavoured to ascertain the angle which the extremities of the cavea make to the scene; but the wall on each side is so much out of the perpendicular, that I could not come to any exact conclusion: however, it certainly gives much more than a semicircle to the cavea. Since my return I have consulted Dr. Hall (who has also visited these ruins), on the form of the extremities of the cavea; and his remarks exactly coincide with my own.

In the European theatres the ends of the cavea are parallel to the scene; but in all the Asiatic theatres hitherto known, they form an oblique angle to it. The theatre of Azani is an additional example of this distinction. Colonel Leake's remarks on this difference between the form of the theatres of Europe and Asia are so illustrative that I cannot refrain from extracting one or two passages.

"The advantage of the Asiatic over the European construction in Greek theatres, consisted only in the increase of capacity derived from the obliquity of the two ends of the cavea. As the spectators in the upper seats of the two extremities must have had a very imperfect view of the scene, the Asiatic construction may perhaps have been adopted to provide the accommodation for the classes who cared less for the drama than for the dancing and dumb-show of the orchestra; and these classes may perhaps have been more numerous in the Asiatic than in the European cities of Greece.

"In Asia Minor, the lower part of the

cavea was generally excavated in a hill, and the upper part was built of masonry raised upon arches; so that there was a direct access from the level of the ground, at the back of the theatre, into the middle diazoma, either at the two ends of the diazoma, or by arched vomitories in the intermediate parts of the curve under the upper division of the cavea."*

Each cuneous or wedge-shaped division comprises sixteen rows of benches, and is separated from its neighbour by thirty-two scalæ, or steps, which lead into the orchestra. The extremities of the benches on both sides of the scalæ stand upon carved lions' feet.

Nine yards from the outer circle of the cavea are several large marble slabs, each supported by three others, vertically placed, with their edges facing the scene. Fourteen are standing, but there appear to have been originally sixteen. I would venture to suggest, that they may have been those small porticoes

* Leake's Asia Minor, pp. 326, 327.

which used to serve the audience as places of shelter in wet weather.

The proscenium appears to form a tangent to the circle comprising the orchestra. Behind it is the scene: in the centre is a large doorway of highly polished dressings: on each of the sides are two smaller ones, and on the extremities two still less, which last were evidently not seen by the spectators; they lead to two towers built of huge masses of stone, and still in good preservation. The tower on what we should call the prompter's side, apparently formed a chamber; but the other is made circular inside, for which purpose the stone blocks are all curved.

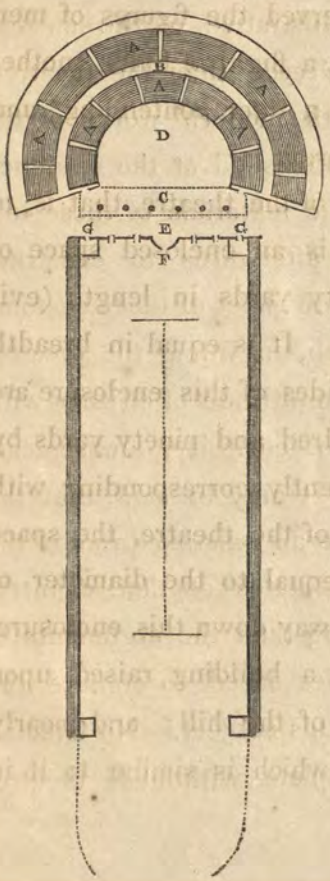
The orchestra is half-full of the fragments of the proscenium, the character of which can easily be imagined from what remains. On each side of the proscenium, are two beautifully fluted shafts lying close to their pedestals; and amongst the heap of ruins are wreaths of flowers, highly wrought friezes, and some superb Corinthian capitals. The columns appear

to have supported a large entablature, which, from the curve observable in the fragments, seems to have described the segment of a circle. On this, which is of white marble, are sculptured figures in high and low relief, describing either actions of contest or the chase. Amongst them, I observed the figures of men fighting with animals, a flight of bulls, another of stags, a lion and a tiger contending, and a lion in pursuit of prey.

Behind the scene of the theatre, that is, to the southward of it, is an enclosed space of two hundred and fifty yards in length (evidently a hippodrome). It is equal in breadth to the scene. The sides of this enclosure are bounded for one hundred and ninety yards by stone benches, apparently corresponding with those in the interior of the theatre, the space in the centre being equal to the diameter of the orchestra. Half way down this enclosure, on the east side, is a building raised upon arches at a decline of the hill; and nearly opposite is another, which is similar to it in

general character. Both structures are formed of those massive uncemented blocks which characterise all the buildings of this city.

The accompanying sketch of the theatre and hippodrome of Azani was kindly furnished me by Dr. Hall.



A a. Cunei of the cavea, or ranges of seats, and the scalæ leading to them.

B. Diazoma, or standing place for spectators.

C. Pulpitum of the proscenium.

D. Orchestra or area.

E. Proscenium.

F. Semicircular niche in the centre of the scene and the principal door.

G. Scene.

I shall close my remarks on the theatre of Azani with one more extract from Colonel Leake, whose opinions accord exactly with my own.

"I may here take the opportunity of observing, that there are no remains of Greek architecture more illustrative of the ancient state of society in Greece than the theatres. Comparing them with modern works of the same kind, we are astonished at the opulence required to collect the materials of those immense edifices, and afterwards to construct them; as well as at the effect of those customs and institutions which, in filling the theatre, could inspire such a multitude of citizens with a single sentiment of curiosity, amusement, or political feeling. It may be said, that the theatres of Greece are an existing proof of the populousness of the states of that country, much more convincing than the arguments of those who have endeavoured to confute the received opinions on this subject. No Grecian community was complete without a theatre.

In the principal cities they were from 350 to 500 feet in diameter, and capable of containing from eight or ten, to twenty thousand spectators. I have already, in another work,* shewn some reasons for believing that the Greeks were indebted for the invention of these buildings to the same city to which they owed so large a share of their civilisation. The Dionysiac theatre at Athens, as it was constructed at the time when Æschylus brought the drama to perfection, seems to have been the original model which, with some slight variations, was adopted throughout the Grecian states both of Europe and Asia."†

Proceeding southwards, you arrive at the temple, which I shall assume was sacred to Jupiter. It is situated on the summit of a small isolated eminence, with that attention to effect, from an elevated situation, which the Grecian architects knew so well how to produce. The whole hill has been enclosed, so as to

* Topography of Athens, sec. 4.

† Leake's Asia Minor, pp. 327, 328.

form a square of one hundred and eighty yards: each face of this enclosure is marked by prostrate fluted shafts of pillars at regular intervals, as well as by a wall of large blocks, which can be occasionally traced on the north, west, and south sides. At the north-west angle the wall is twelve or fourteen feet high, and is formed by blocks five feet long, three thick, and from three to four feet broad. Towards the east side, which faces the river, the ascent is more steep, and the deficiency is supplied by a succession of beautifully constructed arches.

The temple itself stands on a continued plinth, rising five feet and a half from the ground: the elegance and beauty of the architecture are equal to the best specimens of Greek taste now extant. Out of fifteen pillars, which formerly stood on the north side, thirteen remain; and of the eight which decorated the western front, five are still in the highest preservation; and those that are down lie half buried in the ground at a short distance from where they fell. These pillars are fluted, and

are of the most beautiful Ionic order. One of them is so much corroded by exposure at the base, that nothing but the most perfect equilibrium could have supported it: the shaft of each column is formed of a single block. The columns towards the east and south are all overthrown, but are close to their original position. The same observation is applicable to the walls of the temple which stand towards the north and west, but have fallen towards the south and west. From the manner in which these pillars have fallen, it has been suggested to me that they have been thrown down by one of the earthquakes which so frequently visit this region.

Close to the wall on the western side, are two beautiful Corinthian pillars; on each side of them is a door leading to the interior of the temple, and between them is a stone slab, artfully contrived to conceal a secret passage leading to a vaulted chamber underneath the pavement of the temple. Here, probably, the neophytes were initiated into the mysteries of

the deity to be worshipped. This chamber corresponds in width and length to the body of the temple. The arched roof of this vault is formed by highly polished square stones, so accurately joined together, that the hand of time has not in the least injured it. There are three outlets from the vault to the north front, and a corresponding number to the south. The secret passage to the west, to which I have before alluded, doubtless served to facilitate the execution of those numerous performances, by which the priests of former days were wont to practise on the credulity and blind superstition of the people. Of the beams which cross the portico, eight yet remain. The length of the temple is one hundred and sixteen feet, the breadth is sixty-eight feet, and the shafts of the pillars are twenty-eight feet long; the beam of the portico to the pavement, measures forty feet exclusive; and six feet allowed for the plinth of the edifice.

The following is Dr. Hall's measurement of the temple. It is given in French feet.

Length of the temple, on the upper step of the stylobate of the peristyle, 111 feet.

Breadth of the temple, 64½ feet.

Space between the columns of the peristyle and the walls of the cella (on the sides), 10 feet 7½ inches.

Between the columns of the portico (on the west front) and the walls of the cella, 4 feet.

Between the portico columns and those of the peristyle, 12 feet.

The intercolumniations on the flanks are 5 feet.

On the west front they are unequal.

Length of the cella, 73½ feet.

Breadth of ditto, 35½ feet.

Thickness of the walls 33 inches.

Projection, or prolongation of the north and south side-walls beyond the west outside wall, 7 feet.

Breadth of space between the double walls of west front, 44 inches.

Height of the stylobate, or platform on which the peristyle is raised, 5 feet 3 inches.

Breadth of doorways, 5 feet 9 inches.

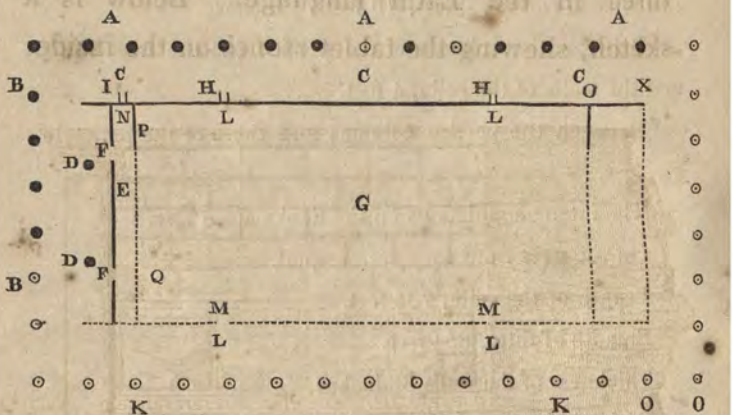
Height of columns, including base and chapiter, 31 feet 10 inches.

Diameter of shaft of column near the base, 36½ inches.

At the top, 31½.

The columns have 24 flutings, 4 inches in breadth, and 2 in depth.

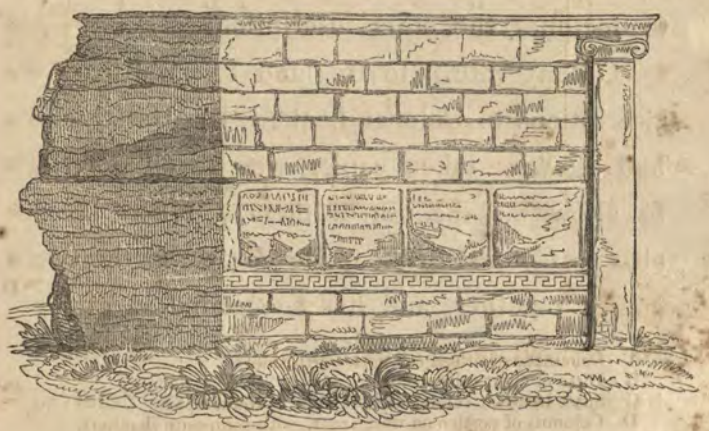
The accompanying wood-cut describes the ground plan of the Temple of Jupiter, as furnished me by the kindness of Dr. Hall.



A Colonnade of fifteen columns, north side.
B Ditto of eight columns, west front.
C Space between colonnade and walls of the temple.
D Columns of portico on west front, with composite chapiters.
E Space between inner and outer walls of west front.
F Doorways.
G Area of the cella.
H North side-wall of temple.
I Projection of north-side wall of the cella.
K South side colonnade.
L Opening into chamber beneath.
M Basement line of south wall.
N Aperture to light the space E.
O Point of junction of a transverse wall, of later construction.
X Extreme point of original wall of temple, north side.

——— marks the line of the walls of the temple now standing.
..... marks the line of the walls of the temple now destroyed.
● marks the columns now erect.
⊙ marks those which have fallen.

On the outside of the north wall of the temple there are three Greek inscriptions: in the inside there are two in the Greek and three in the Latin language. Below is a sketch, shewing the tablet stones on the inside.



Those on the outside are about twelve feet from the ground. I took copies of them by means of a ladder. There are, besides, several long Greek inscriptions in the inside, towards the eastern corner, but they were out of the reach of my ladder; and after several unsuccessful contrivances to reach them, I was

obliged to abandon my scheme of obtaining a copy. The future visiter to these ruins might buy or borrow a ladder from one of the neighbouring villages, and by fastening it to that which will be furnished him on the spot, he will be enabled to ascend high enough to decipher the other inscriptions.

On my return to England I forwarded my inscriptions to Colonel Leake. Dr. Hall,* who had likewise taken copies, was so obliging as to allow me the use of them. I sent them also to Colonel Leake. He compared the two copies together, and has succeeded in giving the following explanation of them. I would here observe, that no one should be deterred from copying an inscription, by knowing that it has been examined by a preceding traveller. Neither Dr. Hall's nor my own copy would have been complete without the assistance of each other.

* Dr. Hall, whose name occurs in the mention of these ruins, is a Radcliffe travelling Fellow of the University of Oxford.

Respecting these inscriptions, Colonel Leake observes, — 'Nos. I., II., III., IV., in the Greek character, are in honour of a citizen of Azani, living in the reign of Hadrian, and named Marcus Ulpius Apuleius Eurycles; — the remaining four relate to a dispute among the Azanitæ concerning the sacred land of Jupiter, which was referred to the reigning emperor (his name does not appear), by the Roman governor, Aulus Ovidius Quietus. No. V. is a letter in Greek addressed by Ovidius to the Azanitæ, in which he refers to a copy of the emperor's letter to himself, which he had sent to the Azanitæ, and to another letter which he (Ovidius) had written to Hesperus, the emperor's procurator, requiring him to cause the lands of Jupiter to be measured; and in other respects to conform to the emperor's directions. No. VI. is the letter of the emperor to Quietus; No. VII. is the letter of Quietus to Hesperus; No. VIII. is the reply of Hesperus to Quietus. The Latin inscriptions are so

imperfect, that I am not able to discover the exact mode in which the Roman officers proceeded in executing the emperor's orders, nor indeed what those orders exactly were: nor have I at present the means of referring to any similar documents which might assist in supplying some of the lost words.'

No. I.

'Is an epistle addressed to the archons, council, and people of the Æzanitæ, by the council of the Areiopagus at Athens, and Numenius Menis(cus) its herald, who was also superintendent of the Agonistic contests, called those of the empress.—"Your excellent citizen having passed the whole of this year in our city, in a manner worthy of his own dignity and your city, having lived in Athens as if it were his native place, attentive to discipline, and indicating every kind of virtuous inclination, by the pursuit of the best and most important objects; for this reason we have conferred upon him the honours due

to him, by the erection of a statue and portrait in whatever part of our city Athens he may think proper, as well as in your city: and all these things we have thought it just to testify to you in favour of the man, for the sake of his probity and his emulation in his studies."'

No. II.

'Is a letter from Titus ..... archon of the Panellenes, priest of the god Hadrian, and superintendent of the games called the Great Panellenia, and from the Panellenes to the council, people, and archons of the Æzanitæ. After stating the propriety of making publicly known the honours conferred upon good men, and after congratulating the Æzanitæ on possessing such citizens, the writers proceed to state that Ulpius Eurycles had conducted himself with moderation during the year in which he had had a seat in the Panellenium, had received every one with kindness, and in the community had made himself conspicuous in regard to discipline as well as equity and

other virtues. Hence they, (Titus and the Panellenes,) thought it right to give their testimony to, and to congratulate the Æzanitæ concerning the man, in order to manifest their regard to the community of the Panellenium, and especially to its most admirable archon Flavius Cyllas, who had shewn an honourable feeling, which had not only adorned Eurycles, but also the most illustrious city of the Æzanitæ, — things worthy of which, and of his race, and of the virtue derived from his ancestors, he (the archon) had performed both by word and deed during the whole year; for which reason they (Titus and the Panellenes) had written an epistle to the nation concerning him, and another to the most divine emperor, having considered him worthy of such a testimony.'

No. III.

'Is an epistle addressed to the Greeks of Asia, by another archon of the Panellenium and priest of Hadrian, named Claudius Jason, and

written also, like the former, in the name of the Panellenes.

'"Having already shewn that we considered Marcus Alpius Apuleius Eurycles worthy of our testimony, by letters addressed to yourselves, and to his native city, and to the great emperor, we have also thought it just, on the accession of the most potent Claudius Jason to the archonship, again to bear witness, that he (Eurycles) has conducted himself with prudence and great moderation in his transactions with the political union of the Panellenes, and has improved on the worthy character which he derives from the gods and from his ancestors, in every thing which he has accomplished, in word or deed during the time that he held a seat (in the Panellenium). Farewell."'

No. IV.

'Is a letter to the Panellenium, bearing a date corresponding with the 30th November, A.D. 140, in the second year of the autocrasy

of Antoninus Pius. It merely acknowledges that the emperor had received advice of Eurycles being admitted into the Panellenuim, from the former members of that body.'

No. V.

'Aulus Ovidius Quietus to the archons, council, and people of the Æzanitæ, health. The controversy concerning the sacred land, anciently dedicated to Jupiter, having been agitated for many years, has been brought to an end by the providence of the greatest emperor; in consequence of my being sent to explain to him the whole affair and to inquire of him what it was necessary to do, there being two things which chiefly moved you to dissension, and which created a difficulty in effecting the object and in finding the means. By uniting justice with humanity, and by thence proceeding to direct his attention to the judgment, he has dissolved the enmity and suspicion which had continued for so many years among you, as you will learn from the letter which he sent

to me, and a copy of which I have forwarded to you. I have given directions to Hesperus, the intendant of the Augustus, to choose geometricians, and to employ them in the measurement of the land.' * * *

* * * * * *

* * * * *

No. I.

Ἡ ἐξ Ἀρειοπάγου βουλὴ καὶ ὁ κήρυξ αὐτῆς καὶ ἀγωνοθέτης τῶν τῆς Σεβαστῆς ἀγώνων Νουμηνίου Μηνισ..
Αἰζανειτων ἀρχοῦσι, βουλῇ, δήμῳ χαίρειν.
Ὁ πολίτης ὑμῶν Μ. Οὔλπιος Εὐρυκλῆς ὁ ἀξιολογώτατος ἐπεὶ- (ἐπε)-
δήμησεν ἐν ἡμῶν τῇ πόλει παντὶ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ ἀξίως τοῦ τε
αὐτοῦ ἀξιώματος καὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας πόλεως, ὡς ἐν πατρίδι
ταῖς Ἀθήναις τὴν διατριβὴν ποιησάμενος, παιδείᾳ τε ὁμι-
λῶν καὶ πᾶσαν ἐνάρετον προαίρεσιν ἀποδεικνύμενος
διὰ τῆς περὶ τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ σεμνότατα σπουδῆς· διὰ ταῦτα ἐτιμή(σαμεν)
αὐτὸν τιμαῖς ταῖς προσηκούσαις καὶ ἀνδριάντος ἀναθέσει καὶ εἰκονος
ἔν τε τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ πόλει ταῖς Ἀθήναις ἐν ᾧ ἂν βούληται τόπῳ, καὶ
παρ' ὑμῖν· καὶ αὐτὰ ταῦτα δίκαιον ἡγησάμεθα μαρτυρῆσαι ἀν-
δρὶ παρ' ὑμῖν τῆς τε κ(εδνότ)ητος εἵνεκεν καὶ τοῦ τρόπου τῆς πε-
ρὶ παιδείαν φιλοτιμίας.

No. II.

Ὁ ἄρχων τῶν Πανελλήνων καὶ ἱερεὺς Θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ
καὶ ἀγωνοθέτης τῶν μεγάλων Πανελληνίων Τίτος . . . . . .
καὶ οἱ Πανέλληνες Λιζανειτῶν βουλῇ, καὶ τῷ (δήμῳ χαίρειν, τοῖς ἀρχοῦσι)
καὶ αὐτοῖς· Ἡγουμένοις προσῆκον εἶναι τὰς πρὸς τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας (μαρτυρεῖ)
σθαι τιμὰς, διαρκῶς καὶ ὑμῖν συνήδεσθαι τῆς τῶν τοιούτων πολίτων κτή-
σεως, ἀκόλουθον ὑπολαμβάνοντες ὡς ἐστιν οὗτος ὁ Μ. Οὔλπιος Εὐρυκλῆς συν-
πεπολιτευμένος ἡμῖν πάντα τὸν τῆς συνηδρείας χρόνον μετρίως καὶ ὡς
τοὺς τε καθ' ἕκαστον ἠρεικέναι φιλίᾳ καὶ ἐν τῷ κοινῷ ἐπὶ παιδείᾳ τε καὶ
τῇ ἄλλῃ ἀρετῇ καὶ ἐπιεικείᾳ διαδηλὸν ἑαυτὸν πεποίηκεν, εὔλογον ἡγη-
σάμεθα μαρτυρῆσαι αὐτῷ παρ' ὑμῖν καὶ εὐφρᾶναι ὑμᾶς, ἐνδειξαμένοις
ἣν πρὸς αὐτὸν εὔνοιαν ἔχομεν, πρός τε τὸ κοινὸν τοῦ Πανελληνίου καὶ ἰδίᾳ
πρὸς τὸν θαυμασιώτατον ἡμῶν ἄρχοντα Φλάβιον Κύλλαν φιλοτιμίᾳ κεχρη-
μένον κοσμούσῃ οὐκ αὐτὸν μόνον τὸν Εὐρυκλέα ἄλλας καὶ τὴν διασημο-
τάτην ὑμῶν πόλιν ἧς ἄξια καὶ τοῦ γένους καὶ τῆς ἐκ προγόνων ἀνδραγαθίας,
καὶ λέγων καὶ πράττων παρὰ πάντα τὸν χρόνον διατετέλεκεν· ἐπιστεῖλα
δὲ καὶ τιρὸς τὸ ἔθνος ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ καὶ πρὸς τὸν θειότατον αὐτοκράτορα καὶ τη-
λικαύτης μαρτυρίας ἄξιον αὐτὸν ὑπολαβόντες. Ἔρρωσθε.

No. III.

Ὁ ἄρχων τῶν Πανελλήνων καὶ ἱερεὺς τοῦ θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ Πανελληνίου καὶ ἀγωνοθέτης τῶν μεγάλων Πανελληνίων Κλ. Ἰάσων καὶ οἱ Πανέλληνες τοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσίας Ἕλλησι, χαίρειν.
Μ. Οὔλπιον Ἀπουληΐον Εὐρυκλέα Λἰζανείτην .... μὲν ἤδη καὶ δι' ἑτέρων γραμμάτων μαρτυρίας τῆς παρ' ἡμῶν ἠξιωκότες, ἐπεσταλκότες ὑμῖν τε αὐτοῖς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῇ πατρίδι καὶ τῷ μεγίστῳ αὐτοκράτορι, δίκαιον δὲ ἡγησάμεθα καὶ τοῦ κρατίστου Κλ. Ἰάσονος παραλαβόντος τὴν ἀρχήν, μαρτυρῆσαι αὐτῷ τὰ αὐτὰ ἐπιεικείᾳ τε καὶ εἰδοῖ πάσῃ κεχρημένῳ περὶ τὴν πολιτείαν τῶν Συνπανελλήνων καὶ τὸ ἀξίωμα τὸ ὕπαρχον αὐτῷ ἄνωθε καὶ ἀπὸ γένους ἐπὶ μᾶλλον προαγόντι ἐν ὅσα λέγων καὶ πράττων διατετέλεκε παρὰ πάντα τὸν τῆς συνεδρείας χρόνον. Ἐρῥῶσθαι ὑμᾶς εὔχομαι.

No. IV.

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ
υἱός, Θεοῦ Τραϊανοῦ Παρθικοῦ υἱωνός,
Θεοῦ Νέρβα ἔκγονος, Τῖτος Αἴλιος
Ἀνδριανὸς Ἀντώνεινος Σεβαστός,
Ἀρχιερεὺς Μέγιστος, Δημαρχικῆς
Ἐξουσίας τὸ ιγ, Αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ β,
Ὕπατος τὸ δ, πατὴρ πατρίδος,
Πανελληνίῳ χαίρειν. (Ὅτι)
οἱ πρὸ ὑμῶν Πανέλληνες (Μ.) Οὔλπιον
Εὐρυκλέα ἀποδεξάντο ὡς ἐπιείκη
ἔμαθον ἐκ τῶν ἐπισταλμένων. Εὐτυχεῖτε.
πρὸ καλάνδων Δεκεμβρίων ἐν Ῥώμῃ.

No. V.

Α. Ουΐδιος Κουιήτος Αἰζανειτων ἀρχοῦσι, βούλῃ,
δήμῳ χαίρειν. Ἀμφισζήτησις περὶ χώρας ἱερᾶς ἀνα-
τεθείσης πάλαι τῷ Διΐ, τριζομένη πολλῶν ἐτων, τῇ προνοίᾳ τοῦ
μεγίστου Αὐτοκράτορος τέλους ἔτυχε, ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἐπέστειλα αὐτῷ δη-
λῶν τὸ πρᾶγμα ὅλον, ἠρόμην τε ὅτι χρὴ ποιεῖν, δύο τὰ μάλιστα τὴν
διάφοραν ὑμῖν κινοῦντα καὶ τὸ δύσεργες καὶ δυσεύρετον τοῦ
πράγματος παρεχόμενα· μίξας τῷ φιλανθρώπῳ τὸ δίκαιον, ἀκολού-
θως τῇ περὶ τὰς κρίσεις ἐπιμελείᾳ τὸν πολυχρόνιον ὑμῶν μάχην καὶ ὑποψί-
αν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔλυσεν, καθὼς ἐκ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς ἣν ἔπεμψεν πρὸς μὲ
μαθήσεσθε ἧς τὸ ἀντίγραφον ὑμῖν πέπομφα. (ἐπέστ)ειλα δὲ Ἐσπέρῳ τῷ ἐπι-
τρόπῳ τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ ὅπως γεωμέτρας ἐπὶ τῆς (μετρήσεως λ)εξάμενος ἐκείνοις
προσχρησήται τὴν χώραν διαμετρῶν κακ ..... ν ὑμῖν γεινήσεται
καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν τοῦ Καίσαρος γραμμάτ ..... δηλω καὶ ὅτι δεῖ τε-
λεῖν ὑπὲρ ἑκάστου κλήρου κατὰ τὴν ..... φασι .... ησαν ἡ-
μέρας λάζητε τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἑκάστ ..... ἱερο .... ρας
χώρας τελέσει ἵνα μὴ πάλιν τ. νες .....
ζράδείον ἀπολαῦσαι τὴν πόλιν .. ς .....
γένωνται αρ..ε..γὰρ αὐτοῖς τὸ μέχρι .....
φα δὲ καὶ τῆς πρὸς Ἔσπερον ἐπιστο .....
με ἔγραφεν. Ἐρρῶσθαι ὑμᾶς εὔχ(ομαι) .....

No. VI.

Exemplar Epistulæ (Imperat)oris scriptæ ad Quietum.

Si in quantas particulas, quos cleros appellant, ager Æzanensi Jovi dicatus a regibus, di(visus sit) non apparet, optimum est, sicut tu quoque existimas, eum, qui in vicinis civitatibus clerorum nec maximus (nec mi)nimus est, observari, et si cum Metius Modestus ..... ut vectigal PROIS* penderetur constitit ..... (Æzanit)ici agri, æquum est ex tempore vectigal pendi ..... constitit jam ex hoc tempore vectigal pendend(um).....

No. VII.

Exemplar Epistulæ Quieti scriptæ ad Hesperum.

Cum variam esse clerorum mensuram cognoverim et sacratissimus Imperator constitutionis suæ causa neque maximi neque (min)imi mensuram iniri jusserit in ea re- (gione q) uæ Jovi Æzanitico dicata dicitur ..... Hespere carissime exploresque ..... ri mensura quæ minimi ..... ipsa illa regione sit et id (n)otum mihi facias.

* Procuratoris ?

No. VIII.

Exemplar Epistulæ scriptæ Quieto ab Hespero.

Quædam negotia, domine, non aliter ad consummationem perduci
possunt quam ..... usu sunt
eorum
xisset ut tibi enuntiarem quæ
mensura esset clerorum circa regionem Æzaniticam misi in rem
præsentem ep (istulam).....

Abundance of coins were brought in the course of the day. I bought several: some were of silver, but the greater portion were of copper. They were Greek and Latin, and several were of the Lower Empire. Two of the coins relate to Azani. One of them, which I have mislaid, bore the figure of Jupiter. The drawing of the other is here given. It represents Antoninus Pius: on the reverse

side is Fortune, bearing a cornucopia and a rudder.

The other drawing is of a coin given me by Dr. Millingen. It represents Faustina, with Æsculapius on the reverse, having the usual emblem of a serpent twisted round a rod.

Round each of the coins is the word AIZANEITON.

It will be seen that one of these coins, namely, that of Antoninus Pius, is coeval with the fourth Greek inscription on the temple. Faustina was probably the daughter of Antoninus.

In the passage of Strabo already quoted,* Azani appears first on the list of the cities of Phrygia Epictetus. The same author also mentions, that the river Rhyndacus takes its rise in Azanitis.† That the stream which flows through Tjavdere Hissar, is the Rhyndacus, may be very fairly assumed, as I continued on or near its banks as far as Taushanlu: at no great distance is the lake Abulionte, whence its course is known until it disembogues into the sea.‡

* Page 188.

† ὁ Ῥύνδακος ῥεῖ ποταμὸς, τὰς ἀρχὰς ἔχων ἐκ τῆς Ἀζανίτιδος. STRAB. lib. xii. p. 576.

Pliny observes: "Amnes Horisius et Rhyndacus antè Lycus vocatus. Oritur in stagno Artynia juxta Miletopolin recipit Maciston et plenosque alios, Asiam Bithyniamque disterminans." Vide also Ptol. lib. v. cap. i. p. 116.

‡ "We ascended the banks of this river (of Azani) for about two miles beyond the town, having been told that we should come to its source; instead of which we found a strong massive bridge, of Roman construction, crossing a narrow gorge, whence the river probably derives its origin. There was no inscription on the bridge, nor any remains

Ptolemy spells this name Αἰζαινις. It follows Κοτυάειον, which agrees with the locality of these two places.* Herodianus writes the word Αἰζάνοι, deriving the name from Æzen, the son of Tantalus, one of the kings of Phrygia.† This city is also mentioned by Hierocles.‡

I have assumed the temple to be sacred to Jupiter, because allusion is made in both the Greek and Latin inscriptions on the wall to that deity, and because several of the coins prove that his worship prevailed in Azani.

Of the coins of Azani now extant there is one of Commodus, which represents the figure of a goat giving suck to the Amalthæan Jupiter:

of other ancient buildings in the neighbourhood."—*Extract of a Letter from* Dr. HALL *to the Author.*

* Ptol. lib. v. cap. ii. p. 120.

† Ἡροδίανος ἐν πρώτῃ συλλαβῇ διὰ τῆς αι καθόλου λέγων, Αἴζην Ταντάλου παῖς ἀφ' οὗ ἐν Φρυγίᾳ πόλις Αἴζανοί τινες δὲ Ἀζάνιον αὐτην φάσιν.—STEPH. *in voce* 'AZANOI.

‡ Hiero. p. 668.

round it are the letters AIZANEITΩN. Another is of the Emperor Hadrian: on it is a woman, with a horn in her right hand. This is conjectured to relate to her who nourished Jupiter. The word AIZANEITΩN is also inscribed. A third is of Caius Cæsar, representing Jupiter with an eagle on his right hand, and a spear in his left. On it are the letters of AIZANITΩN. ΕΠΙ. ΡΟΥΦΟΥ. ΚΛΑΣΣΙΚΟΥ;* and there are several others.

I continued copying inscriptions and examining ruins till dark, when I took possession of the hut assigned to me, and sat down to a dinner of fish from the Rhyndacus, and some dishes of vegetables: amongst others was a very palatable pudding, made of flour, honey, and opium oil.

The curiosity of the villagers made my little hovel the general rendezvous for all the idlers: at last they became so intrusive, that I allowed no one to enter without bringing

* Stephan. Comment. in voce *Αἰζάνοι*.

a log of wood with him, as the price of admission.

The heavy burdens of taxation formed, as usual, the sole subject of conversation. Tjavdere Hissar contains sixty houses, and pays, on an average, three hundred piastres a house.

December 16. I resumed my task this morning of copying inscriptions, and suffered much from cold in the process. The frost was very sharp; and I was obliged constantly to quit my ladder, my hands being so numbed as to be unable to hold my pencil.

CHAPTER XIII.

Leave Azani—A consular Bust—Use of burning Brushwood—Scammony—Trade—Ghiédiz—Greek Inscription—Colonel Leake's Translation and Remarks—Historical Notices on Cadi—The Journey in Asia Minor recommended.

December 17. Tjavdere Hissar to Ghiédiz.—In half an hour's march we quitted the plain of Azani, and, going in a westerly direction, ascended a hill which brought us to an open country: thence, we passed through a valley formed by two mountains parallel to each other; where we came on the traces of the old Roman road. In the middle of this valley, are two votive altars, partly out of the ground; on one of them, is the vestige of a Latin inscription. We then descended a hill, and at the bottom of it, on the left hand, saw an ancient fountain; close to it is a marble bust, but the face has been so ill treated as to render the

features undistinguishable; the dress bespeaks it to be that of a consul.

We now passed through a forest of pines, and arrived at a fountain famous for the excellence of its waters. This brought us to the ascent of a high mountain; the brushwood with which it was covered had been set on fire in many places. It had been burned by the camel-drivers, in order to enable their animals to feed on the rich and nutritious herbs that are to be found amongst the roots of the trees. In the neighbourhood of Constantinople the practice of burning is prohibited, because the shade of the leaves is favourable to humidity, which serves to supply the mineral waters abundant in the neighbourhood of the city.

The descent of this mountain brought us to Ghiédiz, the Cadi of the ancients: we entered the town over a platform bridge, supported by stone buttresses, and took up our quarters at the post-house.

Ghiédiz, of which no account has been given

by any European traveller, occupies the slope and base of two mountains. It contains eight hundred houses. The whole population consists entirely of Turks. Nearly all the houses here have flat roofs; the first I saw on this side of Asiatic Turkey. In and about Bagdad all houses are so constructed. The town is celebrated for its scammony, which is abundant. It is but within a few years that the mode of gathering this gum, which formerly came from Aleppo, has been known to the inhabitants. They repair to the spot where it grows, slightly clear the ground round the root of the plant, and as soon as it has attained its growth, which is towards the end of June, they cut it completely across the stem; a white fluid exudes from the incision, which, after remaining exposed to the air, thickens, and on drying assumes a greyish black. The article is seldom brought pure to the market: it is sometimes mixed up with resin, starch, and black earth, and is further adulterated by the Jews of Smyrna, who manufacture it for the English

market, having found that the buyers accustomed to the false, will not purchase the true drug.

Wool, turpentine, gall-nuts, velanea, timber, wax, honey, and opium, are the principal articles of export in this district. There are several vineyards in the neighbourhood, but the fruit is unfit for the confection of wine: it is dried in the sun, and serves to make vinegar, and a sort of treacle called *pitmis*.

This town is very unhealthy in the summer months. It is watered by a river called the Gedis-chaee, which name it retains until it disembogues into the Archipelago, a little above Smyrna: this stream I have ascertained to be the Hermus of ancient history, having travelled along its banks from the source to the whole extent of its course. The appearance of the stream is very picturesque: it enters the town from the north-west, and after winding through it with impetuosity, caused by the steepness of the mountain, passes out through a chasm of a high abrupt rock, which appears to have been

cleft in twain from top to bottom to receive its course.

The moment I dismounted, I sallied forth on my antiquarian pursuit. This place cannot boast of the same splendid specimens of antiquity as Azani; still there are sufficient remains to identify it as the site of an ancient town: I found in several places the capitals of pillars of the Corinthian and other orders of architecture. Of this, the post-house itself is an example, where these capitals form the bases of rude wooden pillars which have been found useful in supporting the ill-constructed building. On a fountain in the bazaar is a votive altar sacred to Æsculapius.* It represents two birds, each sitting on a nest, and above it these words:—

ΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΑΔΗΚΑΠΙΦΙΟΝ
ΜΕΝΘΝΔΡΩΚΑΠΦΙΩΓΟ
ΝΕΥΕΙΝΜΝΗΜΗΣΧΑ
ΡΙΝ.

In another part of the town, is the figure of

a child in black marble; below is the following inscription, sculptured in a very inferior style to that in the bazaar:—

ΤΟΥC..NHMHNOC
ΓΟΡΠΙΑΙΟΥΗΚ
ΑΚΙΝΔΥΝΟCΚΑΙ
ΕΦΕCΙΑΔΚΙΝΝ
Ν..ΤΕΥ.

The principal Turkish mosque is built of large Hellenic blocks, about which it is impossible to be deceived, as no such blocks have ever been employed by the Turks: hence it may be fairly inferred, that it was formerly an ancient temple.

On the balustrade of a bridge of Turkish structure, is an inscribed stone, which has been placed there not with reference to the characters on it, but as its size accidentally suited the purpose of the builder.

Near the arch of the same bridge, is a complete illustration of the Turks' thorough indifference to the fine arts. Laid in with the other

stones of which the bridge is built, are the fragments of two very fine white marble statues of a male and female. The first of these represents a man wanting the head and legs, in Grecian or Roman armour. The other the body of a woman from the hips downwards, in loose flowing drapery.

There are plenty of coins to be purchased at Ghiédiz: nearly all that I saw were of the Lower Empire.

The following is a legible copy of the inscription on the bridge:—

Ὁ δῆμος ὁ Μυσῶν Ἀϐϐαειτῶν ἐτίμησε τὸν προπάτορα Χρώμιον.

'The community of the Abbaeitæ of Mysia have honoured their ancestor Chromius.'

'This inscription may be thought perhaps to invalidate the presumption derived from the similarity of name that Ghiédiz is the site of Cadi. But the Abbaeitæ, although they coined money inscribed with the same words, Μυσῶν Ἀϐϐαίτων, which are found in the inscription of

Ghiédiz, appear to have been not the inhabitants of a city of that name, but a portion of the Mysians; for Strabo describes Abasitis (Abbaeitis) as a district containing the town Ancyra, which could not have been at Ghiédiz, because Strabo expressly states that Ancyra stood at the sources of the Mecistus, which was a branch of the Rhyndacus, whereas Ghiédiz is near the sources of the Hermus, upon which river the coins of Cadi prove that city to have stood.* The position of Ghiédiz, moreover, agrees exactly with that of Cadi, as may be inferred from Strabo, who, having described Mysia Olympene and Phrygia Epictetus as occupying all the country on the southern side of Olympus, adds, that Cadi,

* On one of the coins of Cadi is a reclining figure, bearing an urn, from which water is flowing. This is evidently the river god Hermus. Round it are the letters, ΕΡΜΟΣ. ΕΠΙ ΚΛΕΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΑΡΧΩΝ. Α. ΚΑΔΟΗΝΩΝ. A coin of Claudius Cæsar represents a man with a fish in his right hand. The letters on it are—ΕΠΙΜΕΛΙΩΝΟΣ· ΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΑΔΟΥ· ΚΑΔΟΗΝΩΝ.

although generally considered with Azani and Cotyaeium, to have been a city of Phrygia Epictetus, was by some ascribed to Mysia;* which agrees with Ptolemy, who excludes Cadi from Phrygia, but places it on the borders of that province.† It is easy to conceive that Cadi thus placed may, on some unknown occasion, have become a part of the community of the Mysi Abbaeitæ, whence probably the remark of Strabo, that Cadi was sometimes ascribed to Mysia.'‡

Stephanus calls Cadi a city of Mysia.§ It is also mentioned by Hierocles.‖ Propertius also alludes to it in one of his elegies:

> Spargite me lymphis, carmenque recentibus aris,
> Tibia Mygdoniis libet eburna *Cadis*.¶

* Τῆς δ' Ἐπικτήτου Φρυγίας Ἄξανοί. . . . καὶ Κοτυάειον. . . . καὶ Καδοί· τοὺς δὲ Καδοὺς ἔνιοι τῆς Μυσίας φάσιν.—STRABO, p. 576.

† Ptolem. lib. v. c. 2.

‡ Colonel Leake's observations on the author's notes.

§ Stephanus Byzant. *in voce* Καδοί.

‖ Hiero. p. 668.

¶ Propert. lib. v. el. 6. ver. 7.

There can be as little question of the identity of Cadi with Ghiédiz, as there is of Azani with Tjavdere Hissar. It is not only proved by its relation to other cities, and by its position on the banks of the Hermus, but also by the affinity of name, Ghiédiz being evidently the "same place as Καδοί, the name of which the Turks received from the Greeks, in the usual Romaic form of the accusative Καδούς."*

Thus, of the three Phrygian cities of Cadi, Azani, and Synaus, indicated by Colonel Leake as likely to be found between the branches of the Thymbres and the Rhyndacus, the sites of two of them have been satisfactorily established; a circumstance that is highly creditable to the accuracy and research of this intelligent geographer.

It is to be hoped, that the little difficulty with which these points have been ascertained, the abundant indications of antiquity throughout

* Leake's Asia Minor, p. 169.

the country, and the increased facilities of travelling, will induce others of our countrymen to visit this beautiful and most interesting region.

CHAPTER XIV.

Pretty Turkish Girl — Dine with the Waiwoda — A young Georgian — Conscripts — Intelligence of the Zebeks — Mustapha misleads me — Error of Pliny respecting the Source of the Hermus — Mount Olympus — The Sultan's Signature — An accomplished Secretary — Jeni Kieu — Inscription — Forest of Firs — Unveiled Turkish Women — We come to a River, Conjectures on the Direction of its Course — The Hyllus, or Macistus — Simaul, or Ismael — The probable Site of Blaundus, or Blandus — Abundance of Game — Zebeks on my intended line of March — Civility of the Waiwoda — We hear of the Zebeks — Depopulating System of Impressment — Opium — Average Production of this Drug in Turkey — Change in the Scenery — A River, probably the Hyllus — Mysterious Personage — Mustapha's Adventure.

THE visit to the antiquities was not effected without attracting the curiosity of the inhabitants, especially of the female portion. One of them, a beautiful girl, apparently about seventeen, followed me at some little distance.

On my turning round, I saw her with her veil in her hand. The moment our eyes met, she threw it over her face with well-acted confusion, her object being evidently as much to be seen as to see. It is the fashion for travellers in Turkey to speak of the horror the women have of being unveiled before men, and especially before Christians. My own observation leads to the opposite conclusion: I consider it as a general rule, that no Turkish lady, having a convenient opportunity, objects to shew her face, always provided that she considers her face worth shewing.

As soon as I had finished my excursion, I went with Mustapha to the waiwoda of the town, who invited me to dinner: he was a well-bred and agreeable man, and spoke Persian with much fluency; a fortunate circumstance for me, as I was able to converse with him without the aid of an interpreter. Our repast was excellent, consisting of an alternate succession of meats and sweetmeats. Amongst other good things was some *khelwar*, a com-

position of flour, butter, and honey. After I had done ample justice to all the savoury dishes, a miserable chicken, boiled to rags, was brought to table, and having been torn limb from limb by my host, was put on my plate, with the intimation that I must eat it all, as it was notorious that no Englishman considered himself to have dined without first demolishing a boiled fowl. This was a draw-back on the feast, but there was no help for it; so patiently resigning myself to the anticipated horrors of indigestion, I was fain to swallow this unpalatable compliment. To make amends for my host's misinformation on the score of English eating, he made a better guess of what we liked to drink. He placed before me a French tea-pot full of wine, of which, like the plate of chicken, I was doomed to swallow the whole contents; as, though he was in the habit of drinking all kinds of spirituous liquors, it was necessary, while he was in office, to set an example of sobriety to his followers; drunkenness and tasting wine being, with Turks, almost synonymous terms.

The only persons at dinner besides the waiwoda, myself, and Carle, who was allowed a place as interpreter, was a very handsome Georgian boy, who is said to have great influence over the aga, and to dispose of the limited patronage of the town as best suits his own caprice. Even on the question of inviting me to dinner, it seemed as if a previous consultation had been held between the waiwoda and his favourite.

We were in the middle of our meal, when two unhappy-looking wretches were brought before us by a party of armed cavasses. These men had both refused to enter the service: one of them had a long beard, and was, in all probability, the father of a family. The business was soon settled; the waiwoda nodded his head, and the poor fellows were sent to be enrolled under the holy banner.

At the time I was here, the recruiting system had not regularly reached the town. Only fifty recruits had as yet been raised: formerly it was the custom to send money instead of men.

On my return to the khan, I found Mustapha in great alarm, in consequence of intelligence he had received from a Nizam officer, that the Zebeks were in possession of nearly all the towns through which I had proposed to pass between Ghiédiz and Smyrna. Now it was a secret that I had kept from Mustapha, and, indeed, almost from myself, that one of the objects of this journey had been to fall in with these Zebeks. I endeavoured to shame Mustapha out of his fears, by laughing at him; but they were too firmly rooted to be affected by ridicule. I was resolved to put my plan into execution, and he was equally determined I should not: it is hardly necessary to add, that he carried his point.

On reflection, it is satisfactory to me that I did not succeed; for though I think my personal safety would not have been endangered, I know not what treatment Mustapha, a servant of the sultan's, was likely to receive from rebels in arms against his highness.

December 18. Ghiédiz to Ieni Kieu.—The direct road to Smyrna, and that which was occupied by the Zebeks, lay in a westerly direction, through a small town called Ieni Kieu.* To Ieni Kieu, therefore, I signified to Mustapha my intention of proceeding, and was not a little surprised when he assented. A little time solved the mystery: I had been travelling for two hours with my compass in my hand, when I found that it continued to point always to the north, which I knew could not be my course. I halted several times, and placed the compass on the ground; but still the direction was the same. In about six hours we came in sight of the snow-capped Olympus,

* The following was the route furnished me by Dr. Millingen:—

Ieni Kieu	4 hours.
Derbent	3
Ieni Shehr	4
Sirghié	5

This last-named town I visited on my return to Constantinople.

which shewed me that my Tartar had been misleading me. I immediately told him that by the little talisman I held in my hand, I discovered he had deceived me. It is curious, that although a native of Constantinople, and accustomed to Frank society, he was utterly ignorant of the properties of the compass; and at the end of almost every day's march, he would describe to each new company the magic charm by which I could discover truth from falsehood.

After this digression, it is necessary to retrace our steps to Ghiédiz.

As soon as we had quitted the town, we kept along the right bank of the Hermus, and proceeded in a northerly direction. We traversed for several miles a fruitful valley: the good cultivation observable here, was a practical proof that the levies of troops had not yet reached this peaceful vale. Six miles from Ghiédiz we saw, on the western side of the road, the small town of Aktavar, containing four hundred houses; the inhabitants are all

cotton manufacturers. The hills around are called Morad-daghi by the inhabitants, and comprise, according to Colonel's Leake's map, the Mount Dindymene of Strabo.

The country here is very beautiful: a rich plain is bounded by abrupt mountains, which are thickly clothed with every species of evergreen.

In three hours' march, we crossed a bridge over the Hermus, and at some distance from the road saw a village called Devlis-sandik. We then lost sight of the river for a short time, but soon after fell in with a fine limpid stream running in a southerly direction: its course lay between two perpendicular banks of black rock, about twenty feet high, and abundantly covered with evergreen shrubs. Three hours from Ghiédiz we came to the source of this stream. It issued from a circular aperture, about twelve feet in diameter, in the mountain, a little below the road on which we were travelling. This is, doubtless, the source of the Hermus, a river honoured by the notice of Homer. It corre-

sponds exactly with the account given by Strabo of that river, which he states to extend as far as Mysia, to rise in the sacred mountain Dindymene (Murad-daghi), to flow through the Catacaumene into the district of Sardes, and thence through the plains into the sea.*

Pliny places the source of the Hermus near Dorylæum of Phrygia.† Colonel Leake has satisfactorily shewn that the site of Dorylæum is either at or near the modern town of Eski Shehr. Now, from the position of Dorylæum, any river near it must have flowed in an opposite direction to that of the Hermus. In all other circumstances respecting the course of the river, the Latin and Greek geographers agree.

* Ἅπτεται δὲ καὶ Μυσίας ὁ Ἕρμος, ἐξ ὄρους ἱεροῦ τῆς Δινδυμένης καὶ διὰ τῆς Κατακαυμένης εἰς τὴν Σαρδιάνην φέρεται κατὰ τὰ συνεχῆ πεδία, ὡς εἴρηται, μέχρι τῆς θαλάττης.—STRAB. lib. xii. p. 626.

† Hermus.... oritur juxta Dorilæum, Phrygiæ civitatem, multosque colligit fluvios, inter quos Phrygem, qui nomine genti dato, à Cariâ eam disterminat; Hyllum et Cryon, et ipsos Phrygiæ, Mysiæ, Lydiæ amnibus repletos.—PLIN. *Hist. Nat.* lib. v. cap. 29.

In all probability the sources of the Rhyndacus and Hermus are a very few miles asunder.

Soon after passing the source of the stream, we ascended a mountain, when Olympus, with its cap of eternal snow, presented itself to our view. The descent led us into a valley: here we came to a stream, which we crossed several times in the course of the day. It was running in a north-easterly direction.

After passing through the villages of Humaum, Kieu, and Hazarjik, we arrived at Ieni Kieu. We were accommodated for the night in the house of the waiwoda. On producing our firman, it was read by the cadir, or secretary, who kissed the sultan's signature, and placed the imperial mandate on his forehead, in token that his head was answerable for his obedience to its contents.

We had the good fortune to arrive just as they were serving dinner, to which our frosty ride enabled us to pay all due honour.

The cadir spoke a little Persian; rather an

uncommon accomplishment for a Turk. It is customary for persons conversing in this language to interlard every sentence with citations from the poets. He attacked me with Hafiz, and I returned his fire with Saadi, till we had both exhausted our limited stock of quotationary ammunition.

Mustapha was again very anxious about the state of the road. The waiwoda told us that it was safe as far as Simaul, where I should find another waiwoda, and he would provide for future emergencies.

Ieni Kieu (the new village) has been recently built. It is subject to Kutaya, and carries on a trade in opium. It contains but one hundred and eighty houses, yet ten or twelve officers of government dined at our table; and as many more replaced us, when we rose to take our pipes and coffee. No wonder the peasants are badly off, when, as Zekeil Homespun says of the churchwardens, "so many dine together for the good of the poor."

On the bottom step leading to the waiwoda's house, is an inscribed stone, which had been taken from Tjavdere Hissar:

ΟΥΝΟΜΑΜΟΙΜ..Σ
ΝΕ..ΑΟΣΤΑΡΑ..Μ
ΕΝΘΑΔΕΚΕΙΤΑΙΨΥΧΗ
ΔΑΟΑΝΑΤΩΝΑΙΘΕΡΑ..
..ΝΕΙΑΣΙ....

December 19. Ieni Kieu to Simaul, a journey of seven hours, over a range of mountains forming one continued forest of magnificent fir. The wood here is so full of turpentine, that the inhabitants of the district use it for torches and candles, for both of which it forms no bad substitute.

We passed on the road several Turkish women, always a proof of poverty in this country. They had thrown aside their veils for the convenience of walking. There was among them one, whose dress and face bespoke poverty and beauty—two strong claims on a soldier's charity. I made her a small

present, and she in return prayed that my "road might be strewed with milk and honey!"

The descent from the mountain range brought us to a fine, open, and well-watered plain. My note-book does not mention the direction of the stream which runs through this valley. Should chance lead another traveller over my road, he will perhaps supply the omission. If the river flows towards the north, it is probably the Macistus, which joins the Rhyndacus not far from the sea of Marmora. If towards the south-west, as I have assumed in the map, it should be the Hyllus, a stream tributary to the Hermus.

Strabo says that Ancyra, a Phrygian town, is situated near the Blaudus, in Lydia.* This last place, Colonel Leake informs me, appears from its coins to have occupied the bank of a river called the Hippurius; but it is doubtful

* Τούτων δὲ ἓν φρούριον Ἄγκυρα, ὁμώνυμος τῇ πρὸς Λυδίαν περὶ Βλαῦδον πολιχνῇ Φρυγιακῇ.—STRABO, lib. xii. p. 567.

whether this be a tributary of the Macistus or Hyllus. In either case the site of Blaudus cannot be far distant from the stream in question, and might be found at a more favourable season of the year. The search would doubtless enable the traveller to ascertain the position of several other ancient cities yet unknown.

At the opposite boundary of the plain is the town of Simaul, in which corrupted form the reader will scarcely recognise its true name of Ismail. We had again the good luck to arrive at our destination in time for the waiwoda's dinner. Eight excellent dishes graced the hospitable board.

Simaul lies at the base of a high range of mountains. It has eight hundred houses: four hundred troops are quartered in the town. The levies are prosecuted with much rigour. The waiwoda told me he would have given me a room in the house, but that it was quite full of government officers, who had come for recruits.

Game is very abundant in the adjoining plain. It consists principally of water fowl, of which there are plenty of every gradation, from the swan to the teal. The waiwoda pressed me very much to stay a week or ten days for the shooting. He told me that four Ionians, the only English subjects he had ever seen, came here a few years ago, and killed vast quantities.

It was my wish to have gone from here to Kula, in search of antiquities; but I was told that the town was in the possession of the Zebeks; and that as the waiwoda was responsible for my safety, he could not permit me. To convince me that the journey was not feasible, he sent several persons into the town to make inquiries, who, when they came, confirmed the statement of the waiwoda. I heard further, that a Tartar, whose road lay in that direction, had been obliged to make a circuitous route through Simaul, in consequence of the disturbed state of the country. Under these circumstances, I was obliged to defer my

visit until my return from Smyrna, and to adopt the route pointed out to me by the waiwoda.

We were consigned for the night to the care of a merry old grey-beard, who paid every attention to our comfort and convenience that his house afforded.

December 20. Simaul to Demirji, eight hours. — Before we started we partook of a plentiful breakfast of milk and honey, part of the fulfilment of my Turkish beauty's prayer. We continued for three hours and a half in a westerly direction, keeping about two miles on our right hand a large piece of water, which may be either a lake or a river overflowed. By the road side, at three hours' distance, I observed the following fragment of an inscription:

ΘΕΝΙΣΗΦΑΙ..ΣΤΙΩΝΙ..
ΧΑΡΙΝ.

Leaving the plain, we ascended another range of mountains, covered with noble firs,

and the country presenting the same general appearance as that of the preceding day's march.

On our arrival at Demirji, we went direct to the waiwoda's house, and asked for horses to continue our route. On the reading of the firman, he sent one messenger after another to impress into my service a guide and the requisite number of horses. I was to have halted for the night at one of his chifliks, or country seats, a few hours' distance from the town, and he had ordered the necessary provision to be prepared for me; but in the meanwhile the day was fast advancing, and I was obliged to yield to his pressing invitations to stay at his house, I being, as he said, the first Frank that had ever visited Demirji.

We heard here that several actions had taken place between the Zebeks and the regular troops, in which some of the rebels had been taken prisoners, and sent to Constanti-

nople. Our informants told us that the "Giaours," as they called the Zebeks, were three thousand strong.

The town was, a short time ago, thriving and populous. It has a thousand houses; but nearly five hundred are empty, from the effects of military impressment.

Opium forms the principal article of trade at Demirji, as well as throughout the district. The English are supposed by the inhabitants to be the sole purchasers; and they think, in consequence, that we are as fond of the pernicious drug as they are themselves. The waiwoda said he understood that we mixed it with our bread.

The average annual production of Turkey opium is about three thousand cases, (each case containing about one hundred and forty English pounds); but of this a very small quantity is consumed in Europe: the remainder is exported from Turkey by the newly-established East India Company, and by the Ame-

ricans, who send it to China. This valuable trade is lost to England by the monopoly of our own East India Company.

December 21. Demirji to Ghiurdiz — eight hours. Course south-west.

We left Demirji at seven in the morning. The scene of beautiful evergreens which had hitherto regaled our sight, was now changed to a scanty allowance of leafless trees. The mountains presented huge masses of rock of indeterminate forms, rent, as it were, into large chasms, caused by the rush of mountain torrents. These waters contribute to a rapid stream, which runs through the valley below, towards the south-east.

The stream which flows near Demirji may be either the Macistus or Hyllus; but I conceive that there is little doubt of the latter being the same as that which we now saw. The course of the Hyllus has been satisfactorily ascertained as far as Ak-hissar, the ancient Thyateira, our halting-place the fol-

lowing day. A few hours' march to the westward of Ak-hissar, the stream falls into the Hermus, confirming the observations of Homer and Strabo respecting its course.*

We had been about three hours on our journey, and were halting to rest our horses, when three horsemen approached us at full gallop, stopped opposite to us, and dismounted the spot where we were seated.

The principal person of the party was a cunning-looking young man, with a black beard: he wore a turban of such large dimensions as in Constantinople would have tinged him with the suspicion of disloyalty. His dress was a neat suit of scarlet, embroidered with black silk; and he appeared, both in costume and manner, to be very much of a coxcomb. One of his two attendants was the surijee of the post-house, and the other, a person who

* ..... τοί τέμενος πατρώϊον ἐστὶν
Ὕλλῳ ἐπ' ἰχθυόεντι, καὶ Ἕρμῳ δινήεντι.—Hom. Il. Υ. 392.
Ὁ Πακτωλὸς εἰς τὸν Ἕρμον εἰς ὃν καὶ ὁ Ὕλλος ἐμβάλλει.—STRAB. lib. iii. p. 626.

officiated as his servant. His manner was very polite, and he was marked in his attentions to myself, presenting me first with his pipe, and afterwards laying before me his whole store of provisions, which consisted o a plentiful supply of bread, sweetmeats, and dried fruits: eatables, indeed, comprised all his baggage. When I remounted, he did the same, and continued for two hours riding by my side, speaking in very complimentary terms of myself and my country. In the midst of our conversation, he abruptly bade me good bye; and saying we might possibly meet again, he struck his shovel stirrups into his horse's flanks, and set off at full gallop, followed by his attendants. In one moment the whole party was out of sight.

While he was with us, Carle had tried to find out from him the object of his journey; but the only answer he could extract was, that he came from Constantinople, and was travelling for pleasure; but, as Carle observed, "That, effendy, cannot be true; for

who but an Englishman would think of travelling for pleasure at such a season? and of all people, the Turks are the last who would follow such an example." The stranger's appearance and conduct were alike mysterious. I asked my Tartar what he thought of him, and he replied, without hesitation, that he was a government spy.

"Some time ago," said Mustapha, "I was joined on the road by a person travelling in the same manner as the person who has just quitted us, only that he was more meanly dressed. We continued our journey together for some days, my new friend paying all the expenses. After some time we separated, but continually passed and repassed each other on the road.

"A month after my return to Constantinople, I saw Sultan Mahmoud pass in state to the mosque. Amongst the principal persons in the suite was my former fellow-traveller: he was now superbly dressed, and adorned with diamonds. I waited for a nod of recog-

nition, but in vain. I afterwards ascertained that he was a secret emissary of government." As such, also, we were induced to set down our new acquaintance with the black beard.

CHAPTER XV.

Koozoos Kieu — Ghiurdiz, the Julio-Gordus of the Ancients — The Mysterious Personage again — Constitutes himself my Guest — His Politeness — A Debtor and Creditor — My Visiter's Speech — Our Dinner — Our Guest is a Government Spy — Ruined state of Ghiurdiz — Beautiful Scenery — A Victim of the Spy's Correction — Ak-Hissar, the ancient Thyateira — Exports of Cotton — Usual Decrease of Population — Historical Notice on Thyateira.

In five hours from our last stage we quitted the plain, to ascend a steep and rugged mountain, on the side of which we saw some Spanish chestnut, and several other kinds of well-grown trees. At this place stands Koozoos Kieu, or "Lamb Village," where, at one of the cottage windows, I saw the gentleman with the black beard. He smiled upon me, and made me a gracious salute as I passed.

On the opposite side of the mountain we

came to a rocky valley, into which several mountain torrents contributed their waters to a rapid stream, which appears to be the same we saw in the morning. We crossed it at seven hours and a half from Demirji, our last stage. It was running in a westerly direction. We could observe it winding along the valley to a considerable distance. We forded it again, to arrive at the town of Ghiurdiz, which occupies its opposite bank.

Respecting this place, to which I am the only English traveller, Colonel Leake makes the following conjecture:

'The name of Ghiurdiz would seem to mark the site of Gordus, or Julio-Gordus, or the city τῶν Ἰουλιέων Γορδηνῶν, as the people are denominated on their coins; for Ptolemy names Julio-Gordus among the cities of Lydia and Mæonia, in conjunction with Magnesia, Thyateira, and Sardes, which accords with the situation of Ghiurdiz. A similar reference to the position of Gordus may be drawn from Hierocles, in his enumeration of the cities of

the consular province of Lydia, as well as from Socrates (lib. vii. cap. 36), and the Notitiæ Episcopatuum.'

The identity of the name, as well as the locality of Ghiurdiz, with Julio-Gordus, is a strong confirmation of Colonel Leake's theory.

We had scarcely taken possession of our room at the khan, when who should make his appearance but the black-bearded traveller. Although there were several rooms unoccupied, he came up to my apartment, and begged to be allowed to occupy it for a couple of hours. Without waiting for a reply, he seated himself in the second-best place, rather to my amusement and satisfaction, as it had been previously taken possession of by my haughty and selfish Tartar.

Carle, in the meanwhile, had been in the bazaar to purchase something for dinner; but in consequence of the lateness of the hour, he had been unable to procure any mutton, and had returned with only a couple of wretched fowls.

Wishing to do the honours in the best manner to my uninvited, but by no means unwelcome, guest, I begged he would partake of my humble fare. To this he readily assented. His servant, in presenting me his pipe, held the charcoal to light the tobacco with a handsome silver pair of tongs. These I happened inadvertently to praise. They were immediately offered to my acceptance, and it was with great difficulty I could evade the present.

We had not made a bad estimate of our visitor's importance, his arrival having struck universal terror throughout the town. Carle heard there, that the moment he arrived, he went to the waiwoda, aga, and moolah, and left with them letters from the sultan, the purport of which was not to be made known till the following morning; and also that he was travelling with the same sort of firman as myself.

He was not unaware of the alarm his presence had created, and appeared anxious to

keep up this feeling. There was a Turkish shopkeeper in the town, who owed eighty piastres to the old surijee who had accompanied him. The shopkeeper was sent for, and entered the room the picture of terror. My visitor put forth all his eloquence on the occasion; spoke of the respect due to a white beard; and begged as a favour that the account might be settled without delay. It is almost needless to add, that the request was immediately complied with; and the debtor satisfied his creditor with greater joy than usually accompanies this sort of transaction.

This affair dismissed, the menzil-jee (postmaster) and surijees were summoned to his presence, when another long oration ensued. In the speech, in which considerable eloquence was displayed, I could detect an evident attempt to produce a favourable opinion upon me, of his oratorical powers.

The substance of his harangue was something to this effect: "Our gracious sovereign has, for the transmission of his commands

through his vast empire, allowed postmasters to let out horses to the public at a very low rate; but I regret to observe, that this privilege has been very much abused, and that persons so acting have shewed themselves enemies to the sultan, by causing delay to public business, and by bringing discredit on the country, of which the great Mahmoud is lord. For instance," said he, turning round suddenly to me, "I observed that this gentleman, who is travelling with the sultan's firman, was scarcely able to proceed on his journey from the wretchedness of his horses. Now, let his and my horses be good, or, depend upon it, all your bones shall answer for it." Then, addressing himself particularly to the menzil-jee, or master of the post, he said: "The last post proprietor was such a pezavink, that I was obliged to flog him with the scabbard till I broke his ribs; he is not expected to live, as you know." Here he turned to his surijee, who respectfully bowed assent. "But," continued he, "I am sure you are

too honest a fellow to render it necessary for me to resort to this unpleasant mode of enforcing your duty; and so *otoor dost-um,* (sit down, my friend,) and let us have a cup of coffee together."

This speech, which occupied some time in the delivery, was spoken in so mild a tone, that it would have been difficult to imagine that it contained a threat of flogging to death the person to whom it was addressed.

As this was the first town since leaving Kutaya in which there were Christian inhabitants, I desired the inn-keeper to fetch some wine. The man, who was a Mahometan, was just beginning to assume a puritanical horror at bringing in the forbidden grape, when he was interrupted by my visitor, who significantly advised him to pay the same attention to my commands as he would to his own.

When dinner was brought in, instead of the tasteless pilau for which I had been prepared, I was agreeably surprised in seeing an excellent mutton stew, and two or three good Turkish

dishes, placed before us, and all by the invisible agency of the great unknown.

The doors and windows of our room duly secured, and all but our own attendants dismissed, my visitor shewed me that he was neither a stranger nor an enemy to a drop of wine, and, under the shadow of my infidelity, played a very effective part with the liquor before us. A few potations redoubled his politeness; and it was quite flattering to see him, as soon as he had drank off the contents of our joint tea-cup, replenish it for me, and hold it to my lips, while I was, in my turn, emptying the friendly bowl. Nor did his attentions stop here; he selected with his own hands the choicest and fattest morsels of the stew, and transferred them to my mouth, in a manner to which we English are unused from the time we quit our nurse's arms.

The fumes of the wine soon sent Mustapha snoring to his mat, leaving me with Carle and my visitor, whose singular conduct and manners were highly entertaining. Whether from the

effect of what he had drank, or from the confidence he placed in a Frank's secrecy, or that, in fact, he told us only what he had a right to communicate, I pretend not to say; but the moment Mustapha was asleep, he began talking a mixture of Greek and Turkish, in which he told us at once that he was a government spy, and that I must not be surprised or offended at his leaving us in the night. "I say this in perfect confidence to you," said he, "because you were both well known to me before I encountered you this morning; but I would as soon trust one of these beasts of Asia as I would your fool of a Tartar. I know the Frank character well enough to feel assured that they would not take the life of a person who had not injured them; but one of these beasts would lose me my head in his wish to do me a kindness." The dark complexion and the black beard of my visitor had several times attracted my attention, as neither the one nor the other assimilated with his general style of features or his youth; but he explained the circumstance

by shewing us that both were false, which he did by baring his arm and bringing to view a fair skin, and by taking off his turban and discovering his crop of hair, which, instead of being black, was of a dark brown.

I have been minute in the details of my interview with this curious personage, because it was by men of this description that the grand signior has become acquainted with that janizary feeling which pervades all classes of Turks, and it was the agency of such persons that produced the massacre which took place just before my arrival at Constantinople.

The presence of the spy prevented me from making the usual inquiries; but from the examination I gave to the place, I observed nearly one third of the houses in ruins.

December 22. Ghiurdiz to Ak-hissar, an uncomfortable march of twelve hours in incessant rain. Our general direction was nearly due west, though the road led us a winding journey through plains and valleys, and over

mountains. The country here was highly beautiful and diversified, and looked so in spite of the frowning aspect of the weather. To our right we alternately saw forests of evergreens and vineyards covering for miles the whole face of the hills. To our left we saw huge isolated mountains of rock, amidst which were occasionally thick forests of trees, that appeared as if they had forcibly fixed themselves to the rugged sides of the hills.

At four hours' distance from our last stage, we heard the moaning of some person in pain. I halted to see who was the sufferer, and discovered one of the surijees of the last post-house. He had accompanied my fellow-lodger the spy thus far on the road, but, being fat and unwieldy, his rate of going did not satisfy this government emissary, who dragged him from his horse, and gave him the bastinado on his feet until he was unable to walk, and left him, at this wretched season, to bivouac by the road-side.

The poor fellow's misfortune was not with-

out its beneficial results, at least as far as I was concerned. The surijee who accompanied me had seen the friendly manner in which I was treated by the emissary, and was almost convinced that there was some secret understanding between us; an impression my servant endeavoured to strengthen. The result was, that a journey of twelve hours was performed in eight, and we reached Ak-hissar at three in the afternoon.

At every place that I stopped at, constant and anxious inquiries were made after the Fezlee, or bearer of the fez or cap which distinguishes persons in the service of the Porte.

From the same circumstance, I gained a temporary power over Mustapha, who had lately become idle and impertinent. Whenever he was either, it was only necessary to threaten him with the Fezlee, to bring him to a due sense of his situation.

The accommodation of the post-house was so bad, that we sent to the governor of the

town for a quarter. He assigned us a small house which was tolerably weather tight.

We heard here that the Tartar Agassi had arrived with six guns, with which he was on his march against the Zebeks.

The principal export of this town is cotton, which grows in great abundance throughout this district. The town contains one thousand houses, of which three hundred are uninhabited: this is partly owing to the impressment, which has taken away five hundred young men, and partly to a great sickness which has been raging here.

Ak-hissar is the first town in my journey from Kutaya, of which mention is made by any modern traveller. It is satisfactorily shewn by Colonel Leake to be the Thyateira of the ancients. It is mentioned by Strabo as a Macedonian colony not far distant from Sardes.*

* .... ἐπὶ Σαρδέων, πόλις ἐστὶν ἐν ὑριστερᾷ Θυάτειρα, κατοικία Μακεδόνων, τῶν Μυσῶν ἐσχατῶν τίνες φασίν. — STRABO, lib. xiii. p. 625.

CHAPTER XVI.

Tedious March — Meet Soldiers returning from the Zebek Expedition — Alertness of the Rebels — Women riding astride—A Greek wounded by Robbers — Account of one murdered — Instances of Turkish Honesty — Remarks on Travelling by Night in Turkey — A Batch of Slaves on a March—Present State of Manisa, the Magnesia ad Sipylum of Strabo—The Cara Osman Oglu Family—Contrast between Hereditary and Temporary Governors — Prosperous State of Manisa during the Government of the Cara Osman Oglu — The Effects of their Overthrow —Arrive at Smyrna—My Appearance—A substantial Breakfast — Dine on Board the Wellesley—Christmas Eve.

December 23. AK-HISSAR to Manisa, another twelve hours' journey.—The course south-west across an immense plain. Whoever has made this march will, I am sure, remember it as one of the most tedious of his whole journey. Very shortly after leaving Ak-hissar you come in

sight of your destination; it seems as though you would be there immediately; hour succeeds hour, and you do not appear a jot the nearer, till at last you may almost imagine it the delusion of the *mirage*.

At a small wretched shed, assuming to be a coffee-house, we stopped to eat our breakfast, a piece of black bread and a water melon. Here we fell in with several of the irregular troops who had lately been employed against the Zebeks.

They stated the rebels to be so expert, from their mountain habits, in eluding pursuit, that frequently on entering a village full of these people, the pursuers would enter at one door, while the pursued would, at the same moment, effect his escape out of the other and completely disappear.

As we approached Manisa we saw numbers of women, Turkish as well as Greek, riding on horseback astride in the common saddle of the country.

At the entrance of the town we met a party of Greeks, one of whom had his throat bound

with a handkerchief; on arriving at the khan I learned his story.

He was a Greek merchant, a native of Manisa. A short time ago, he and two other Greeks purchased some sheep in this neighbourhood, and disposed of them at Smyrna. Four days ago (the 18th instant), they were each returning home singly with the produce of the sale. At three hours' distance from Manisa (on the road which we traversed the next day), they were attacked by banditti. The man who was foremost of the three was murdered, and his body was afterwards found stark naked. The second of the party (the same that we met with the handkerchief round his throat,) was fired at by the assassins, when the bullet passed right through his throat, which, however, did him no further injury than to detain him three days at Manisa. The third person was more fortunate than either of the others, and escaped unhurt.

This occurrence is an additional illustration of the present disturbed and wretched state of

the country. At any other time, a large party would have been despatched in pursuit of the murderers; but now every person capable of bearing arms, and not impressed into the regular army, is employed against the Zebeks, who have given this government so much to do, that it has no leisure to attend to the safety of the road.

In a former part of the Journal I have had occasion to remark, that murder for the purpose of plunder is a circumstance of uncommon occurrence among the Turks, who, from all I have seen or heard of them, are unequalled in honesty by any people in the world. It is not yet known by whom this atrocious act was perpetrated, though it is generally attributed to some of the More-ler, the name given to these Turkish soldiers who have recently come over from the Morea, on the cession of that country to the Greeks. But even if this conjecture be right, the case admits of some palliation. On the evacuation of the Greek fortresses, the Turks who composed the garrisons

were sent to Smyrna and disbanded. Thus several hundred men have been thrown upon society without any means of subsistence.

This is not the only occurrence of the kind. A short time ago, the country-house of a lady was plundered, and this lady no less a personage than Madame St. Elme, the authoress of a well-known work of autobiography, entitled "Mémoires d'une Contemporaine."

While on the subject of Turkish honesty, I purpose to make a few remarks, and at the same time to select one or two instances. It would be easy to fill a volume with parallel examples. I would instance the Tartars, by whom the conveyance of specie is solely intrusted, not one of whom has ever been known to be robbed; and though I have made frequent inquiries, I have never heard of any man so employed that betrayed his trust.

The following anecdote relates to the Turk or Tartar in charge of the post: it should first be premised, that all commercial transactions between Turks and English are carried

on without any written documents; a proof of the mutual confidence they repose in each other's honour, more especially when it is to be considered, that experience has taught both these nations to have no dealings with Greeks, without receiving all the security that writing can give.

In the winter of 1828, the Turkish postman was sent to some distant part with a considerable quantity of specie. The money is carried in bags, which the merchants call groupes. They are given to the postman, and, as I have just mentioned, without receiving any written document as proof of the receipt. This man, on returning from his journey, was applied to by a French house for fifteen thousand piastres, (a sum at that time equal to two hundred and fifty pounds). He made no attempt at evading the demand, but immediately said, "I have doubtless lost the groupe, and must therefore pay you as soon as I can raise the money." After maturely thinking of the loss, he returned by the same

road, quite confident that if any Mussulman should find the money, it would be returned to him. He had travelled nearly the whole distance, when he arrived, in a very melancholy mood, at a small, miserable coffee-house, where he remembered to have stopped a few moments on his road. He was accosted at the door by the cafe-jee, a Zebek, who called out to him, "Hallo, sherif! when you were last here, you left a bag, which I suppose to contain gold; you will find it just where you placed it." The postman entered, and discovered the identical groupe, evidently untouched, although it must have been left exposed to the grasp of the numerous chance customers of a Turkish café.

Mr. Charles Whittall, the gentleman with whom I resided while at Smyrna, told me, that, a short time before, he had engaged a poor Turk to carry specie, amounting to five hundred pounds. The man, on his return, said, "I have delivered the money; but the

correspondent says, that as he had written so lately, he did not think it necessary to write by me." A short time after, Mr. Whittall received a letter to say that the money had not reached its destination. Suspicion fell on the Turk, who was found, and informed of the circumstance: he asked leave to go in search of the money, begging only that he might be paid equivalent to the day's work (some few piastres) he should lose in the journey. On inquiry, he discovered that a Greek had appropriated the money to himself, having been in immediate want of it. The moment he called upon this person, he was paid back the five hundred pounds, and was given two thousand piastres, which he accepted, but instead of appropriating it to himself, paid it, as a matter of course, together with the original sum, into the hands of Mr. Whittall's broker, and it was with difficulty he could be persuaded to retain the Greek's fee.

We heard here that the kelmemet, or Zebek

chieftain, had with him three mule-loads of ducats.

A Tartar, sent by our ambassador from Constantinople to Smyrna, arrived soon after us. He stopped to change horses, and immediately proceeded on his journey. He told us that he had been a considerable time on the road, that it had rained incessantly, and that the roads had been almost impassable. It is remarkable, that while he was thus assailed by wet, we should have had nothing but frost, with the exception of the first two days.

The Tartar did his duty properly in travelling the night through; but it is a question, whether those who make the journey on their own account would gain much by so doing in the winter months; as, besides the common casualties of dark nights, muddy roads, and steep intricate mountains, they would have to run the risk of losing their way, and would always find it difficult to know the exact place to ford the numerous mountain torrents

they would have to encounter on their route. It was thus yesterday with the Smyrna post; it left Ak-hissar last night as we entered it, but did not arrive at Manisa more than two hours before us; while we, in the mean-while, managed to find time for dinner and a good night's rest.

Before dark, a large batch of lately-imported black slaves passed us on their road to Constantinople. They were of both sexes, and of all ages. Their clothing was in a wretched plight, and some had scarcely rags to their backs. They were mounted on horses or mules; in some instances two, and in others three slaves being placed on one beast.

On the following morning, these poor wretches were to proceed on their journey to Constantinople, where they were to be disposed of by public auction.

Manisa contains three thousand houses, comprising a mixed population of Turks, Greeks, and Armenians. Eight hundred of the Turkish inhabitants have been forced into

the army. The levies of the season have not yet commenced, the persons required for this service having been employed against the Zebeks.

Manisa stands on the site of Magnesia ad Sipylum,* so called to distinguish it from the Magnesia on the banks of the Meander. It is mentioned by Strabo as being a free town under the Romans, and subject to earthquakes. It was one of the twelve cities of Asia that were thrown down by earthquakes in the reign of Tiberius.

The modern town has been visited by many travellers. Its present impoverished and almost desolate condition forms a melancholy contrast with the thriving and populous state which it exhibited when the capital of the chieftain of the Cara Osman Oglou family.

I have before stated it to be a principle

* . . . . . Μαγνησία ἐστὶν ἡ ἀπὸ Σιπύλω ἐλευθέρα πόλις ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων κεκρομένη· καὶ ταύτην δὲ ἐκάκωσαν οἱ νεωστὶ γενόμενοι σεισμοί. —STRAB. lib. xiii. p. 621.

of Turkish policy, to establish political equality amidst all classes of Turks, and to destroy even the resemblance of succession: hence no son can inherit his father's property, nor can even assume a family name.

Among the exceptions to this general rule against hereditary succession, was the family of the Cara Osman Oglou, the chief of which, residing at Manisa, ruled the rich territory lying between the Meander and the Propontis, comprising the greater portion of Æolis, Ionia, and Lydia.

This family was composed of a number of beys, or hereditary chieftains, who all, sprung from the same origin, submitted, from motives of interest, custom, or affection, to the dereh bey, the title given to the hereditary chieftain of the house.

The advantages of this patriarchal form of government over that of the usual mode, of vesting the power in the hands of a pasha, or temporary ruler, may be shewn in a few words.

The pasha buys the revenues of his govern-

ment at public auction; it consequently becomes his interest to persecute the cultivators of the land, of whom he ought to be the protector.

In perpetual danger from the priesthood of his own court, as well as from the ministers in the capital, he is obliged to resort to bribery, as the only means of conciliation.

Deriving profits from all abuses, he is their chief promoter.

Hated by the people over whom he rules, on account of his numerous exactions, he is obliged, by high rewards, to retain in his service a band of mercenary strangers to defend his person.

Uncertain when he may be summoned to resign his precarious power, he endeavours to amass wealth in the shortest possible time.

The expenses attendant upon this ruinous system of government must be drawn from the produce of the soil.

On the other hand, a dereh bey, or he-

reditary governor, from the hope of bequeathing his property to his children, would feel a common interest with those under his authority in the prosperity of the country. The dependence of the dereh bey on the numerous chieftains of his house, for their co-operation, and their dependence again on their own immediate retainers, would produce a spirit of conciliation, and a consequent prosperity in every class.

That this is not a mere theoretical deduction, we have only to contrast the state of Manisa and its dependent country while governed by the dereh bey, with its present wretched condition.

During the government of the Cara Osman Oglou family, respect was paid to property; justice was equally administered; encouragement was given to agriculture; and protection was afforded to trade.

Such a mitigation of despotism soon attracted numbers of people, happy to find a refuge from the tyranny of their oppressors.

Greeks from the Peloponnesus fled in numbers from the exactions of the temporary lords of the soil, and gratefully accepting the proffered protection of the chief of the Cara Osman Oglou, placed themselves under his patriarchal sway. Colonisation rapidly increased, land became tilled, commerce flourished. The whole country was populous and wealthy.

This prosperity in a dependent state was incompatible with a government which seems as though its own ruin, and the misery of those under its authority, were the sole objects of its administration.

The thriving state of that part of Anatolia over which the Cara Osman Oglou ruled, alarmed the jealous fears, and wounded the besotted pride, of Sultan Mahmoud.

One of the first impolitic schemes of his ill-fated reign was to destroy the power of the great hereditary chieftains: where he succeeded, the natural consequences ensued. It is now fifteen years since the family of the

Cara Osman Oglou have ceased to rule, and that a pasha has supplied their place. In the interval, a complete ruin has been effected; the land lies fallow; commerce has declined; population has rapidly decreased. Some of the former inhabitants entirely disappeared. The Greeks returned to their native land, and joined their countrymen in arms, who have since succeeded in throwing off the authority of the Porte. Many of the Turks may be found in the rebel ranks of the Zebeks; and the few wretched peasants who remain, have become disaffected towards a government that has changed the willing allegiance of children to a father's rule, into the forced submission of slaves to a tyrant's yoke.

We reposed for a few hours in the public coffee-house of the post-house, in company with some twenty Turks. The conversation I heard there convinced me, that though some of the late reforms of the grand signior had been directed against the prevailing vices of this

people, it is in appearance only that they have been abandoned.

December 24. Manisa to Smyrna, six hours. —We started at three hours before day-break, and continued the whole way over a range of mountains. At dawn, we arrived at the spot where the murder of the Greek merchant had been perpetrated five days before. It was at the rugged rocky ascent of a hill, and appeared to be a place well selected for the purpose; the dense evergreens which grew here affording a thick ambush for the assassins. At a house where we stopped, a little further on, we heard that the pistol-holsters of one of the gang had been found, that they were to be cried in the bazaar, and that there was every chance of finding out the guilty persons. Should they be discovered, the dreadful ordeal of impalement will be their inevitable doom.

The descent from the mountains led into an extensive valley, covered with evergreens, abounding in gardens, and decked throughout

with beautiful villas and picturesque villages. Bounding the plain to the south-west was the "Giaour Izmir," or Infidel Smyrna, universally so called by the Turks, to distinguish it from another city of the same name; over the house-tops of which were to be seen the ensigns and pennants of the men-of-war of all the great powers, whose interests have been concerned in the late struggle for mastery.

After making my way through groves of olives, oranges, and cypress trees, I reached my destination at an early hour, delighted once again to find myself amongst my brother infidels.

With my Tartar leading the van, and myself bringing up the rear, we threaded the narrow and ill-paved streets at full gallop, and did not relax from the pace for a moment, until we arrived at the "Locanda di Nuova Europa," a fashionable hotel at the top of "Bond-street."

The first persons that presented themselves to view were two British captains in the navy.

Their neat uniforms, well-shaved chins, and that cleanliness for which Englishmen are so proverbially remarkable, would have easily proclaimed the country to which they belonged. The same remark would have hardly applied to myself. I wore on my head the red cap of the Turkish troops; my coat was the undress blue uniform of the British army; my lower extremities were encased in the most capacious of Ottoman trousers; my legs were covered with boots like those worn by fishermen, and over the tops of them was the huge embroidered stocking common to the Tartars. I grasped in my hand the unwieldy riding-whip of the country; and, to complete my heterogeneous appearance, my beard was three weeks', and my mustaches of three months' growth, and my person had, of necessity, been a stranger to ablution a much longer time than I choose to confess.

The operations of dress, bath, and barber, soon effected a complete metamorphosis, and

in two hours I was able to make my appearance in the uniform of the profession to which I have the honour to belong.

A long ride and short commons had so increased a naturally good appetite, that, forgetting I had entered a land of plenty, I desired to be furnished for breakfast with whatever the house could produce. I was taken at my word, and I sat down in solitude to mutton-chops, pigeon-pie, fried fish, omelette, eggs, buttered toast, and a long *et cetera* of good things, that made me feel distressed at the opinion the waiters must have formed of my gastronomic powers: but they had a juster estimate of them than myself; for, by the time the cravings of hunger were appeased, it was with shame I reviewed the scanty remnants of the former plenteous board. I had no sooner despatched this meal, than, to complete my discomfiture, my friends, Captain Maitland and Captain Bouverie, of His Majesty's ships Wellesley and Windsor Castle,

paid me a visit, and complimented me on the certain indications of my not having suffered in appetite from previous privation.

In the course of the morning I paid my respects to Mrs. and Miss Bouverie, on board the Windsor Castle, as also to the lady of my friend Captain Lyons, who was proceeding to join her husband at Constantinople.

In the afternoon I dined with Captain Maitland * on board the Wellesley, where I had again the pleasure of meeting the ladies.

From the time I left Constantinople to my arrival at Smyrna, I had not seen a Frank, nor had I either heard or spoken my native language. The interval had been passed in a journey of hardships and discomforts, amidst a barbarous people, with whom I could have no feeling in common. There had been no previous link to connect me with civilised life. To find myself, therefore, thus suddenly seated at dinner in the society of my countrymen,

* Now Rear-Admiral Sir Frederick Maitland, K.C.B.

and, what is still more, of my countrywomen, waited upon by English servants, and partaking of English fare, seemed to be like a fairy tale. I was almost wild with animal spirits; and I shall ever remember the Christmas Eve passed on board the Wellesley, as of the merriest I ever spent in my life.

CHAPTER XVII

Theatricals afloat and ashore — New Year's-day Visits — Beauty of the Smyrniote Ladies — Archbishop of Smyrna — Smyrna Gaieties — Appearance of the Town — Leave Smyrna — Regrets at Parting — Wretched Weather — Detention at the Custom-house — Mustapha's ill temper — Nimphio — Eeke Capi — "Teeth Hire," a Turkish Tax — Oppressive Imposts — Enter Lydia — Mount Sypylus — The Zebeks — Casabà — Productions — Decrease of Population since the Government of Cara Osman Oglou.

I RETURNED on shore to sleep. I had no sooner landed, than my ears were saluted with "most unoriental roars of laughter." They proceeded from numerous jolly parties who were celebrating Christmas Eve, from all parts of the world — Greek, Maltese, French, Italian, Dutch, German, and English. With that happy quality which my naval fellow-

countrymen have of making themselves at home wherever they may be, a large body of our midshipmen hired all the musicians they could collect, and, taking them all through Smyrna, to the great amusement of the inhabitants, entertained them with a serenade.

Before I reached my hotel, mind and body had been, for twenty-four hours, in an uninterrupted state of activity; it was, therefore, with much gratification that I looked forward to repose; but I was scarcely in bed, when I was disturbed by a most vociferous "three times three." The cheers proceeded from some officers of the squadron, who were keeping up the festivities of the season in the next room. To attempt to sleep was impossible; I joined the songsters, who, in the oft-repeated chorus, "did not go home till morning, till daylight did appear."

December 25. Ate my Christmas dinner on board the Wellesley. This evening another batch of jovial choristers were my next-door

neighbours; but exhausted nature bade defiance to their melody.

December 26. The consul-general at Constantinople, Mr. Cartwright, had given me a letter of introduction to Mr. Charles Whittall, one of the principal merchants of Smyrna. I found at his house a large party of ladies seated round a tandour. This article of Levantine furniture has been often described — a circular table, with a pan of charcoal below, and a silk counterpane above. On my entrance, I was desired to occupy a vacant place. I obeyed the summons, took my share of the counterpane and conversation, made myself perfectly at home, and thus instinctively formed a radius of a very pleasant circle.

Mr. Whittall hearing where I resided, insisted upon my removing to his residence, where a room, with every English comfort, was assigned me.

December 27. This morning I felt a severe shock of an earthquake.

December 30. Private theatricals on board the Wellesley. From six to seven hundred persons were present; amongst whom were the captains of our own squadron, as well as those of the French, Dutch, and American men-of-war in the harbour. The following was the bill of fare:

LOVE À LA MODE.

Sir Theodore.....Mr. Johnstone.
Sir Callaghan O'Brallagan.....Lieut. Mac Ilvaine.
Sir Archy Macsarcasm.....Mr. Taylor.
Squire Groom.....Hon. Lieut. Plantaganet Cary.
Mordecai.....Lieut. Bates.
Charlotte.....Mr. Cartwright.

RAISING THE WIND.

Plainway.....Mr. Johnstone.
Fainwood.....Lieut. Sir P. Parker, Bart.
Jeremy Diddler.....Lieut. Mac Ilvaine.
Sam.....Lieut. Fraser.
Richard.....Mr. Hogg.
John.....Mr. Leddicott.
Peggy.....Mr. Le Mesurier.
Miss Lucretia Durable ——

The performance was exceedingly well acted throughout. Mr. Mac Ilvaine, the representative of Sir Callaghan and Jeremy Diddler, has long enjoyed a deservedly high reputation in naval theatres. The last time I had seen him in a dramatic capacity was seven years ago, when we trod the boards together of the Bombay theatre. Of the other actors, the one that performed with most spirit, and had the most reason to do so, was Mr. Cary, (a brother of Lord Falkland,) the Squire Groom of the evening, who went through his bustling character with the greater animation, from having received intelligence of his promotion to a lieutenancy just before he appeared on the stage.

December 31. I dined with the British consul. After dinner went to some Smyrna private theatricals.

The play selected was Il Bugiardo, of Goldoni. Many of the actors played remarkably well; one in particular, the son of an Armenian broker, who performed the part of

a waiting maid, would have done honour to any stage.

When it is remembered, that the actors had never quitted their homes, that they had never seen a play acted by professional persons, and that the dialogue was conducted in a language not in common use in the country, the greatest credit is due to their performances, and speaks much for that society from which alone their picture of manners can be drawn; indeed, the recollections of this night's amusements, and of the agreeable holydays I passed here, are such as to convey very favourable impressions of the state of society of Smyrna, and to make me consider this city of infidels as an oasis of civilisation, amidst a vast desert of oriental barbarism.

New Year's-day, 1830. This, and the two following days, were passed in paying and receiving visits, according to the established customs of the country. As my host's brother, as well as himself, are married to natives of

Smyrna, they are, in some way, connected with all the principal families of the town. I accompanied them wherever they went, saw the whole society of Smyrna, and returned quite in raptures with the display of beauty I had witnessed in my round. Among the married ladies is a Greek, a near relation of my host's, of the name of Marigo, almost a rival in appearance to her pretty namesake on the opposite side of the Bosphorus, whose story forms an episode in the first volume of my narrative. This lady had the usual characteristic features of her nation; hazle eyes, dark eye-lashes and eyebrows, and the most beautiful dark auburn hair.

At every house we were presented with coffee and sweatmeats, which, agreeably to the Levantine fashion, were handed round by the young ladies of the family. There was something very pleasant in being thus waited upon by pretty girls, many of whose faces shewed that beautiful Greek profile so observable in ancient statues.

Before we returned home, we called upon the archbishop of Smyrna. He was in a bad state of health; some wretch having, a short time before, mixed poison with the wine which the primate drank during the ceremony of administering the sacrament, and he was now but slowly recovering from its deleterious effects.

We had a large family party in the evening. The elder branches played at cards, and sate round the tandour. I found "mettle more attractive" in the corner of the room, where a group of young ladies were engaged in a noisy game of forfeits.

January 3. An evening party at M. Van Lennep's, the Dutch consul. Here I was presented to Monsieur de Ribaupierre, the Russian ambassador. His excellency was on his way to Constantinople.

The ladies, generally speaking, were dressed in the Parisian mode; some, however, wore the costume of the Levant — an embroidered

handkerchief interwoven with the hair, and a small open jacket richly worked in gold.

Smyrna, viewed from the sea, from its amphitheatrical form, its minarets, mosques, and cypresses, makes a promise of splendour which, as in all Turkish towns, is broken at a nearer approach. The houses, especially the Turkish, are low and small. Those of the Franks, such as that of my friend Mr. Whittall, are an exception to this remark. The mansion of my host, which is close to the French consul, may be taken as a specimen of the better sort. The rooms, which are spacious and well furnished, lead to a long terrace that terminates in a summer-house, where a large telescope points to the shipping in the harbour. This terrace I found a delightful promenade during the bad weather. I praised the comfort of it to my host. "Yes," was his reply, "we find it very convenient during the plague."

Below the terrace are extensive warehouses, which, in some houses, reach to the water's edge, but are more generally (as at Mr. Whitt-

all's) intercepted by a vile, dirty little street, containing the scum of the population of Greece, Italy, and Malta. Close to the pasha's house, which is also a good-sized building, are the new barracks, capable of containing two thousand men.

There is the same absence of fresh air in the Smyrna bazaar, as there is in every other of the Ottoman empire which I have visited. The shopkeepers sit cross-legged upon the floors, or rather shop-boards, for they serve both purposes. These are raised about two feet from the ground; so that if any article is wanting, the sellers can reach it without stirring; a saving of trouble peculiarly suited to their idle habits.

During my stay at Smyrna I could hear but little of the Zebeks. The general impression amongst the Turks was, that their chief, the Kelmehmet, was employed by the Porte as a reformer of abuses. They would have thought differently, had they known the number of sacks of Zebeks' heads that were daily rolled into the imperial presence.

The state of political feeling among the Turks of Smyrna is said always to take its tone from their brethren in Constantinople.

There was a curious illustration of this sympathy of opinion during the late commotions.

On the enrolment of a janizary into the corps, it was customary to fix on his arms the nishaun, or mark of the oda (regiment) to which he belonged. This was pricked in with gunpowder, in the same manner as is occasionally practised by our sailors.

When intelligence was received at Smyrna of the late attempt at Constantinople to re-establish the order of janizaries, the former members of the corps assembled in a body, paraded the streets, and baring their arms to the shoulder, exhibited the emblems of their former privileges; but no sooner were they informed of the suppression of the conspiracy, than they carefully buttoned their sleeves to the wrists, and tried every means to eradicate the nishauns. Many, in their eagerness to get rid

of them, used a violent chemical preparation, which, producing mortification, cost them their lives.

January 5. Smyrna to Casabà. — I had now passed twelve days in Smyrna, idly, it is true, but so pleasantly, that it required great mental resolution to tear myself away from its agreeable inhabitants. Here I would warn the traveller to beware of the ladies' fascinations as he enters "the land of the cypress and myrtle;" for whether he approach by sea or land, he has, in all probability, become more than usually susceptible, by previous seclusion from female society; and bright eyes are there both capable and willing to inflict wounds, against which the most indifferent only can be proof. For my own part, I quitted Smyrna, once more to encounter the vicissitudes of a wanderer, with a heavier heart than on any previous departure.

There was nothing in the appearance of the weather to lessen the feeling of regret with

which I bade adieu to my kind and hospitable friend. It had been showery for several days past, and, as at almost each preceding departure from civilised society, my setting out this morning was marked by torrents of rain, which did not cease until within an hour's distance of my night's halting-place.

Outside the town is a Turkish custom-house. Whether it was that we had omitted to give any customary fee, I know not; but here we underwent a rigorous and vexatious search: we were obliged to unload and to open all our baggage, the packing of which had previously detained us two hours; and all this annoying scrutiny was made by the road-side, the rain continuing meanwhile without the slightest intermission.

This combination of grievances was more than the naturally bad temper of my Tartar could bear, so he vented his spleen on the surijee, who was stupidly drunk, and fairly flogged him into sobriety.

Our day's route was east: quitting the

evergreen plain of Smyrna, and leaving to our left the road of Manisa, we began to ascend the pass of Cavakli, which seems in ancient times to have been of some importance; as vestiges of fortification, built for its defence, may be seen to this day on the conical hill, rising about the centre of the pass.

To the right appears the large village of Nimphio; and above it, on the almost precipitous side of the hills, are yet visible the ancient walls of Nimphæum. Near the modern village are mines of gold, producing, however, at present, but a small quantity of that metal.

We crossed, and recrossed, a small but limpid stream, and then arrived at the ruined village of Eeke Capi: three houses only remain, and even these three are in the most lamentable state. The others were abandoned a few years ago by the inhabitants, to withdraw themselves from the insolence and predatory habits of the Dellis. It was the custom of this licentious soldiery to quarter themselves on the unfortunate peasants; and,

after first eating their food, of imposing a cruel but ludicrous tax for the use of their jaws in devouring it. This tax was called *dishin kirassi*, which means literally "teeth hire." The power of the dellis has now ceased with that of the janisaries, by the exterminating measures of the grand signior. The nation as yet, however, owes their monarch but little gratitude for this favour; for though he has exempted them from the arbitrary contributions to which they were formerly subject, he has, for the first time since the existence of the Turkish empire, imposed taxes on property, as well as on every article of importation and exportation,—the latter being more heavily taxed than the former. Thus, as I have remarked in my notes on Adrianople, an article sent from one town to another pays at each place the same impost that was laid upon it at the first. The objects taxed are home manufactures, and all those articles most essential to life, extending even to fire-wood. The burden has become

the more insupportable, as the weight falls almost solely on the poorer classes. In proportion as these imposts have paralysed the little industry existing in this kingdom, the Sultan Mahmoud has, in order to meet the expenses of the regular troops, and of the present war, laden every spot with extra contributions, which cannot but reduce his people to misery and desperation; his demands on his subjects increasing in the ratio of their inability to satisfy them.

Leaving Eeke Capi, we ascended a small hill, which brought us into Lydia. We saw to our left the craggy mount Sipylus, at the foot of which, on its west side, is the town of Manisa. Two hours further on is Casaba, which we reached at dusk.

We heard here, that a few weeks ago the head quarters of the Zebeks had been stationed at Aidin, and that the Kelmehmet had sent a detachment to garrison Casaba. Since that time, Cara Osman Oglou had been in pursuit, and had overtaken eighteen of the rebels: he

hanged six of them, and had cut off the heads of the remaining twelve. Thirty others were taken at a short distance from Casaba, and sent prisoners to Constantinople.

Previous to the war with Russia, Casaba contained about two thousand houses, but it has now only fifteen hundred. The population is a tolerably equal proportion of Turks, Armenians, Greeks, and Jews. It is the thoroughfare of all the caravans which convey to Smyrna the products of the East. Its cottons and melons are much celebrated. These last are said to be delicious.

Several thousand natives of the Morea were settled here under the mild government of Cara Osman Oglou; but the greater portion of them fled on the breaking out of the Greek revolution. Smyrna also, and its surrounding villages, were almost entirely peopled by Greeks from the opposite coast; a mark of the high esteem in which Cara Osman Oglou was held. The circumstance of this region being so colonised in modern days is worthy

of remark; as in ancient times, the same country, under the name of Ionia, was peopled by the Spartans and other natives of Peloponnesus.

The land throughout this country is almost entirely cultivated by Turks, who also occupy themselves in several small branches of handicraft: here the rayah is the merchant. On the opposite coast the case is reversed: the Turk devotes himself to trade, the rayah is the agriculturist, and the Mahometan is his labourer.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Ruins of Sardes — Intelligence of the Zebeks — Sarikhli — A Tribe of Gipsies — A Fellow-countryman — Industry punishable in Turkey — Adala, the Ancient Attalia — Negro Language — Anecdote of the Kelmehmet — Modesty of Mustapha — Appearance of the Country about Kula — Its Identity with Catacaumene — Correct Description of Strabo — Town of Kula — Its Produce — Disaffection of the Inhabitants — Ludicrous Adventure — Dress of the Zebeks — Mahometan Prejudice against Christian Costume — Tonbaili — Military Conscription — Interest taken by the Greeks of Kula in the Affairs of the Morea.

January 6. Casaba to Adala. — I STARTED at daylight, in order to be in time to visit the ruins of Sardes.

On regaining the road, I observed in several places along this plain tumuli, evidently formed by men's hands: two, and even three, are to be seen together.

At an hour's distance we saw to our right

the village of Dervent, containing two hundred houses, the inhabitants of which subsist on the produce of the cultivation of opium.

We continued to traverse the plain for two hours, along and near the base of the magnificent Mount Tmolus, of ancient history, and then arrived at a village called Organli, where we breakfasted. If I am not misinformed, there is another village of the same name a little further on.

After crossing two streams issuing from the mountains, the branches of the Pactolus of the ancients, we reached the ruins of Sardes.

The remains of stupendous buildings, occasionally of stone, but more commonly of brick, broken columns, highly-wrought friezes, and architraves, are among the vestiges of the splendour of this far-famed city. The tents of the Yerook now cover the site of the palace of Crœsus, and his flocks are to be seen grazing in the temples of the Lydian gods.

Having a dangerous river to cross before

dark, and being doubtful of nearer accommodation than the village on the opposite bank, I took but a hasty view of Sardes. The following observations were made by my friend Dr. Hall.

"The remains of the Lydian capital, although not considerable, are still very interesting to the traveller; enough of the ancient walls may be traced to shew that the city was of a triangular form, the base running in a straight line east and west. The Acropolis is situated at the opposite angle, on the summit of a projecting root of the Tmolus range, which bounds the city and plain of Sardes to the south. Within the ancient circuit there are various massive substructions of public buildings, and architectural fragments are scattered every where.

"There is a theatre, the cavea of which is imbedded in the slope of a hill on the south-east side of the city; attached to which is a stadium, its length running parallel with the scene. Thus the stadium crosses the front of the theatre.

"At the north-west of the city, and without the walls, on a gentle elevation, sloping to the banks of the Pactolus, was situated the temple of Cybebe or Cybele. (Was this temple dedicated to the goddess of the earth, as the mother of metals, the most precious of which the adjacent stream supplied?) Only two columns of this temple were standing when I visited the spot. Truncated portions of others, and many fragments of different parts of the building were prostrate in heaps around. From the great accumulation of soil about the columns and parts of the temple, which are now above the surface, it is evident that by excavation the plan of the whole building might be entirely traced. The columns are Ionic, and are most perfect and beautiful specimens of that order: but Mr. Cockerell, whose judgment is of much greater value, has expressed the same opinion. That gentleman's observations concerning the temple generally, are to be found in a note inserted at the end of Col. Leake's 'Journal of a Tour in Asia Minor.'

"The remains, supposed to be those of the church of Sardis, one of the seven of Asia Minor, is situated towards the north-west angle of the ruins: they consist of massive walls, forming a parallelogram; the interior area of which was filled with the ruins of the other parts of the building. I could trace no substructions of tribune, or other divisions, to mark satisfactorily the ground-plan of an ancient Christian church.

"The Acropolis is surmounted by the ruins of a fortress. The work of the middle age based upon more ancient foundations; but the slashed, broken, and crumbling summit of the hill, shews that it has suffered much from earthquakes, and apparently at no very distant period.

"The view from this height, looking to the north, is very fine; immediately beneath are the massive and mouldering ruins of the ancient city. Beyond, a partially cultivated country inclines gently to the shores of the Hermus, which flows east and west, at the

distance of three miles from the northern wall. On the other side of the river a spacious plain extends to a range of mountains,* whose uneven summits present a beautiful and varied outline. The Lake of Gyges appears in the distance, like a silver band, stretched at the base of the mountains, between which and the Hermus those extraordinary tumuli or barrows, called the tombs of the Lydian king, are discernible. One, of greater magnitude than the rest, is recorded by Herodotus to have been raised over the grave of Alyattes, with the money which the women of Lydia obtained by prostitution."

From Sardes, or Sart, as it is now called, we proceeded along the plain, and passed through the village of Sarikhli. Here, a short time ago, an action was fought between the Zebeks and the troops of the grand signior. The rebels lost eleven men, and the sultan's

* These mountains running east and west, inclining to the east.

force two. The Kelmehmet deposed the aga of this village, and substituted a follower of his own in his place. The new deputy did not enjoy his precarious honour long. He had scarcely taken possession when he lost his head.

There are several other villages on this plain. Cotton forms the principal article of cultivation. Abundance of manna is also grown here. The villages are chiefly inhabited by Greeks, who speak Turkish, and are ignorant of their own language. Their prayers are recited in an odd medley of both languages. I believe the Lord's Prayer to run thus: Πάτερ *bizim* ὅ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, &c. The same remark applies also to Kula and the intervening country. Their churches are similar to those in the times of Christian persecution, being constructed in private houses. Their habitations are generally built up of mud and chopped straw: it was of this material that the poorer kind of houses were formed in ancient days.

We crossed and recrossed the Hermus, over

two wooden bridges of very fragile structure. The river here is a hundred yards broad.

On the left-hand side of the road we saw twenty black tents pitched in a straight line, with two flags, one white and the other red, fixed at the right flank. These formed an encampment of gipsies, which had stationed itself there to welcome, with a band of music, a bride who was to pass in that direction on her way to her future husband, an inhabitant of the neighbouring village. I was not so fortunate as to see the procession. The tents of the wanderers closely resemble those of the Illyauts, which I saw in the Arabian desert.

Gipsies are to be seen in every part of Turkey. I constantly fell in with them in the course of my journey. The largest encampment that I saw was at Shumla, where they were assembled to the number of some thousands. The appearance of their women is always most striking in a Mahometan country, where such rigid notions are entertained of female decorum. Nothing can be more

strongly contrasted than the uncovered face, the upright carriage, the fearless, and almost fierce demeanour of a well-formed gipsy girl, with the veiled features, shuffling walk, and timid, downcast look, of a round-looking female of the Turkish race.

The gipsies conform to the prevailing religion of the country in which they may chance to be. Thus, they are Christians in Wallachia and Moldavia, and, generally speaking, Mussulmans to the southward of the Balcan.

Their creed, however, sits loosely upon them, as they follow it no further than it accords with the habits of their tribe; consequently, those who profess the Mahometan faith are not acknowledged by the more rigid Osmanli, who hates them as infidels, and dreads them as magicians. All the expert executioners of Constantinople are supposed to be of gipsy origin. "There are, in the world," say the Turks, "seventy-two religions and a half:" the fractional part of this number they assign to the Tchinganee.

I was overtaken in my ride by a Greek, who asked Carle of what nation I was. He had no sooner heard that I was an Englishman, than he called out, "*Eccellenza! caro mio compatriotto.*" My countryman proved to be a Cephaloniote. He had come to a neighbouring village on a visit to his brother, who, dying shortly after, he succeeded him in his property. The experience in husbandry which he had acquired under our government, enabled him soon to scrape together some little wealth; but the acquisition taught him an axiom of Turkish policy, that industry is a punishable offence; for, not only has he had to pay double in proportion to the other villagers, but the aga will not allow him to return to his native country.

The poor fellow was very civil; and when I arrived at the end of my day's march, brought me a bottle of very tolerable wine.

We here quitted the vast plain, which, with the exception of the pass of Cavakli, is undivided from Smyrna to this place, and may be

seen extending towards the east, until it is terminated in appearance by a range of distant mountains.

We now again came to the banks of the Hermus, flowing at the base of a rocky mountain, through a chasm of which it disappears. At the opposite bank is the village of Adala, the ancient Attalia. The passage here is rather dangerous, and we were obliged to hail the villagers to guide us over. Three of them came, and we crossed without an adventure.

The direct road from Casaba to Adala is twelve hours; but we made the distance fourteen, by the circuit necessary to visit the ruins of Sardes.

Of our guides across the river, two were negroes, or Arabs, as they are called by the Turks. I had heard this people in different parts of the world speak French, English, Armenian, Persian, and Arabic. I now heard them speak Turkish. In all these languages they converse with that peculiar lisping idiom

which is a paraphrase to the jargon spoken by the slaves in our colonies,—a coincidence which is left to philologers to determine.

One of our party here had been employed against the Zebeks. He told us that a short time ago, a horseman staid to breakfast at a neighbouring village, and consigned his steed in the meanwhile to the charge of one of the villagers. On re-mounting, the stranger asked him what he should give him for holding his horse.

"Oh!" said the fellow, "I would not have charged you any thing, but I am a poor man, and am obliged to leave my fields uncultivated, to go in pursuit of that scoundrel of a Kelmehmet."

"But what harm has he done you?"

"The trouble he gives me is quite harm enough; and if I catch him, I promise you I'll kill him."

"Don't believe he'll be such a fool as to allow himself to be caught," said the stranger, as he pressed his horse's sides, and set off at

full gallop. He was scarcely out of sight, when a crowd entered the village, in pursuit of the Kelmehmet. By the description of the person, it was discovered that the Zebek chieftain was the identical horseman who had just quitted the town on the opposite side.

The people here confirmed in part what I heard at Smyrna and elsewhere, namely, that the depredations of the Zebeks were principally committed on the rich.

We shared the chamber in our hut with an old gray-bearded Tartar and another person, in government employ. I made Mustapha very angry, by offering him wine in presence of these men; and he complained bitterly to Carle of the insult I had put upon him. As he had never before been so scrupulous, I begged he would make me some private signal when he was next attacked by a fit of modesty.

January 7. Adala to Kula, eight hours. Course east.—On re-crossing the stream, Mus-

tapha's horse sunk in the mud, and seated himself quietly on his rump. I have seldom seen fear so strongly depicted as on the countenance of my Tartar. It was impossible to resist the ludicrousness of the scene. The usually proud, but now humble Mahometan, was imploring help of his Christian fellow-servant, who, instead of helping him, only laughed at his distress, and reproached him for his cowardice. The danger, after all, was not very great; in fact, I, if any one, ran the greatest risk, for so ridiculous was the appearance of the two, that laughter prevented me from paying the necessary attention to the guidance of my horse.

After heavy rains it is necessary to make a circuitous route of three hours to arrive at a bridge, which, to return, make six additional hours' march. The surijee who conducted us was obliged, when he went back, to make this circuit.

Our surijee, and several men that we overtook this morning, wore the dress of the

Zebeks. Instead of the round turban in use amongst the Turks, these mountaineers wear a high sugar-loaf red cap, round which is bound one or more handkerchiefs. The Turks generally prefer loose flowing robes, but the Zebek's dress sits close to the limbs, in a manner offensive to Turkish notions of propriety; the breeches, especially, fit as tight as European drawers. The engraving of the Zebek in the frontispiece, is from an original portrait of one of these mercenary soldiers in the service of the pasha of Smyrna.

My description of costume has led to the mention of a part of the dress which, as Miss Oldbuck says, "It doesna become a lady to particularise." This fastidiousness of the Antiquary's maiden sister was (formerly) surpassed in nearly every Mahometan country. Our old military uniform of short jackets, tight pantaloons, and Hessian boots, gave great offence to the eye of the followers of the Arabian prophet. In Persia, I believe, it is still advisable for Europeans to adopt a costume suited to the

prejudices of the people; but in Turkey there is no occasion; "*on a changé tout cela;*" and the metamorphosis is one of the great complaints against the present sultan.

Three miles from Adala we saw, on our left hand, Tonbaili, a village inhabited by Turcomans. In a ravine in the mountains was a small encampment of these wanderers. Their tents differed in nothing from the gipsies or Illyauts.

We still continued to march in an easterly direction, and traversed a range of mountains of white and coloured marble. As we approached Kula, the road was entirely black, and strewed with cinder-looking substances. Wherever the rock was broken, it exhibited the same black appearance. The people here call this mountain *kara dewit*, or "black inkstand." On the opposite side of the hill the face of the country undergoes a complete change. Instead of a continued chain of mountains, like those we had quitted, was a succession of detached hills, of a conical shape, and covered, for the

most part, with vines. In the midst of these eminences, at the further extremity of a circular plain, is the highly picturesque town of Kula, situate amidst huge black vitrified masses, in the bed of an extinct volcano.

This country was anciently called Catacecaumene, or "the burned up," as is abundantly proved not only by its position, but by its particular appearance.

Strabo's description of Catacecaumene, which is very minute, will be found to agree with my observations on the neighbourhood of Kula, which are given exactly as I made them on the spot.*

Kula, which is built entirely of lava, contains eleven mosques, and fifteen hundred

* Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτ' ἐστὶν ἡ Κατακεκαυμένη λεγομένη χώρα, μῆκος μὲν καὶ πεντακισχιλίων σταδίων, πλάτος δὲ τετρακοσίων· εἴτε Μυσίαν χρὴ καλεῖν, εἴτε Μηονίαν· λέγεται γὰρ ἀμφοτέρως· ἅπαντα ἄδενδρος, πλὴν ἀμπέλου τῆς τὸν Κατακεκαυμενίτην φερούσης οἶνον, οὐδενὸς τῶν ἐλλογίμων ἀρετῇ λειπόμενον. Ἐστὶ δὲ ἡ ἐπιφανεία τεφρώδης τῶν πεδίων· ἡ δ' ὀρεινὴ καὶ πετρώδης, μέλαινα, ὡς ἂν ἐξ ἐπικαύσεως.—STRAB. lib. xiii. p. 628.

houses; of this number one hundred and fifty are Greek. The town is subject to the governor of Kutaya. The trade consists in carpets or rugs, on which the Turks recite their prayers: the average price of these articles is from forty to a hundred and seventy piasters. The town is celebrated for a red dye, and supplies Alexandria with red slippers. It produces also a considerable quantity of opium.

One spirit of discontent, I may say of disaffection, pervades every class of the inhabitants of this town, as well as of the surrounding villages. The Turks are dissatisfied because they are impressed into the service, and the Greeks because they are forced to pay the expenses. The levies of troops have been very extensive here, and of the numbers so enlisted, every one has, almost without exception, been dragged from his home with arms pinioned, and with a chain round his neck, as I mentioned in a former part of the Journal. Whenever the conscripts, for the greater convenience of conveying them, have been unbound, they

have made use of the indulgence by returning home. The deserters remain the first on the list for a new conscription: when caught, they receive the bastinado, are again carried towards Constantinople as soon as they are able to walk, and many of them act in the same manner as before.

I was surprised to find that the Greeks of this remote and inland town take a lively interest in the affairs of their brethren on the opposite coast. In my antiquarian researches on this and the following day, numerous were the inquiries relative to the new Greek constitution, in the advantages of which these people seemed fully to expect a participation. This circumstance confirms an opinion I had formed in consequence of conversations with the Greeks in other parts of Turkey, namely, that a general understanding exists between those who are enfranchised, and those who still continue under the dominion of the Ottoman crown.

CHAPTER XIX.

Antiquarian Excursion — Inscriptions at Kula — Bas-reliefs — Kula near the ancient Mæonia — Beauty of the Kula Women — Kula Wine, Illustration of Strabo — Leave Kula — Mustapha's Prudence — Village of Ghieuldiz — Ancient Remains — Inscriptions at Ghieuldiz — Colonel Leake's Remarks.

January 8. I devoted the whole of the morning to the search for Greek inscriptions. I did not call upon the aga, but he heard of my arrival, and sent the principal Greek of the town to accompany me in my expedition. I went into forty or fifty houses, and found inscriptions in them all: they are principally sepulchral. There are several fragments of inscriptions also in the corn-market. The other indications of antiquity are occasional capitals, and broken shafts of columns; abundance of coins are also to be found here. I bought

several Greek and Roman, but the principal portion of them were of the Lower Empire.

The following woodcut represents a cameo, which I brought from the ruins. The original is in the possession of Colonel Leake.

The inscriptions are, as usual, in Greek capitals; but as they are all of the time of the Roman empire, and there is nothing remarkable in the characters, I have thought it sufficient to give them in the cursive; for which text, as well as for the translations and notes accompanying it, I am indebted to the kindness of Colonel Leake.

No. I. is on a sepulchral slab. Above the inscription is a crescent, the symbol of the god Lunus.

I.

Μηνὶ Ἀζιοττήνῳ.* Ἐπεὶ Ἑρμογένης Γλύκωνος καὶ Νίτωνις Φιλοξένου ἐλοιδόρησαν Ἀρτεμίδωρον περὶ οἴνου,† Ἀρτεμίδωρος πιττάκιον ἔδωκεν· ὁ θεὸς ἐκομίσετο τὸν Ἑρμογένην καὶ εἱλάσετο τὸν θεὸν καὶ ἀπὸ νῦν εὐδοξεῖ.

'To Lunus Aziottenus. Hermogenes, son of Glycon and Nitonis, son (or daughter) of Philoxenus, having calumniated Artemidorus concerning wine, Artemidorus presented a picture (to the god). The god took Hermogenes in hand, Hermogenes appeased the god, and from this time glorifies him.'

* 'Lunus had many epithets. Men Arcenus and Men Campreites appear on coins of Sardes and Nysa. Strabo makes mention of Men Arcæus, Men Pharnacus, and Men Carus (pp. 557, 577, 579). The epithet Aziottenus is found on the coins of the Saitteni.'

† 'The Catacecaumene, in the midst of which Kula is situated, was noted for its wine. — Strabo, pp. 628, 637. Vitruv. lib. viii. c. 3.'

Above No. II. is a bas-relief representing two figures clasping each other's hands: one is in a short dress, the other in a long gown.

II.

Ἔτους τκθ, μηνὸς Ζανδίκου. . . . μος καὶ Ἰουλία τὸ πο(θειν)ὸν τέκνον Τρόφι(μον) (ζή)σαντα· ἔτη κγ καὶ. . . .ς ὁ ἀδελφὸς καὶ Δ. . . . . ὁ πατρυιὸς μετὰ τῶ. . . . μνείας χάριν ἐτίμησαν.

'In the month Zandicus of the year 329, Trophimus and Julia honoured their beloved son Trophimus, who had lived twenty-three years. His brother .... and his father-in-law D ..... together with ..... also honoured him.'

No. III. is surmounted by a wreath.

III.

Ἀπολλοφάνης Φιλίππου καὶ Ἑρμιόνη Ἑρμόλλου ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ Φίλιππον τὸν υἱὸν ἐτίμησαν.

'Apollophanes, son of Philip and his wife

Hermione, daughter of Hermollus, have honoured their son Philip.'

Below No. IV. two hearts are sculptured.

IV.

Ἔτους σην, μηνὸς Ζανδίκου Τερτύλλη Μηνοδότου Στομιανὴ Ἀνίκητον τὸν ἄνδρα ἐτίμησεν μνήμης χάριν.

'In the month Zandicus of the year 258, Tertylle Stomiane, daughter of Menodotus, erected this honorary monument in memory of her husband Anicetus.'

The three following inscriptions are to be found on separate slabs in the court-yard of one of the principal Greek houses in the town.

Above No. V. is a bas-relief representing two persons, one the Phrygian Apollo, wearing a chlamys, and treading upon the head of a bull; the other Jupiter, having an eagle on his right arm.

V.

Ἱερὰ συμβίωσις καὶ νεωτέρα κατ' ἐπιταγὴν τοῦ κυρίου τυράννου Διὸς Μασφαλατήνου καὶ Μηνιτιάμου εὐχήν. Ἰουλιανὸς Μενεκράτου, Μενεκράτης Διοδώρου, Διονύσιος Παππίου, Ἑρμογένης Ἑρμίππου, Λούκιος Ὀνησίμου, Διογένης Γλύκωνος, Διογένης Μαξίμου, Τρόφιμος Ἑρμίππου, Ἀπολλώνιος ϛ̄, Θεόδωρος ϛ̄, Μαρκιανὸς ϛ̄, Μένανδρος Ἑρμογένου, Ἑρμογένης Τατιανοῦ, Μιτρόδωρος Εὐελπίστου, Ἀσκληπιάδης Μαρκιανοῦ, Ἀσκληπιάδης Διονυσίου, Ἑρμογένης Τροφίμου, Βάβηλος Ἑρμογένου, ἐπιμεληταμένων Ἰουλιανοῦ καὶ Ἑρμογένου. ἔτους σνσ μηνὸς Δύστρου.

'The sacred college of the young men erects this votive monument, by order of the lord sovereign Jupiter Masphalatenus and Menitiamus. (Subscribed by) Julianus, son of Menecrates; Menecrates, son of Diodorus; Dionysius, son of Pappias; Hermogenes, son of Hermippus; Lucius, son of Onesimus; Diogenes, son of Glycon; Diogenes, son of Maximus; Trophimus, son of Hermippus; Apollonius, the second time; Theodorus, the second time; Marcianus, the second time; Menandrus, son of Hermogenes; Hermogenes, son of Tatianus; Metrodorus, son of Euelpistus; Asclepiades, son of Marcianus; Asclepiades, son of Dionysius; Hermogenes, son of Trophimus; Babelus, son of Hermogenes. Julianus and Hermogenes had charge of the execution of the work. In the month Dystrus, of the year 256.'

No. VI. is a bas-relief, representing the heads of two persons. The head of the one is surrounded by a radiated crown; and from

between the shoulders of the other is a half moon.

VI.

Κατὰ τὴν τῶν θεῶν ἐπιταγὴν, ἱερὸς δοῦμος* εὐχὴν
Διὶ Μασφαλατήνῳ καὶ Μηνιτιάμῳ καὶ Μηνιτυράννῳ †
ἐκέλευσεν τηρεῖσθαι αὐτῶν· ἀπειθὴς ἀναγνώσεται
τὰς δυνάμεις τοῦ Διὸς· ἐπιμεληθέντος Διονυσίου
Διοδώρου καὶ Ἑρμογένους Βαλερίου. Ἔτους σνσ
μηνὸς Δύστρου.

* 'Δόμος. This was probably the senior college of priests, the preceding inscription having been by the junior college.

† 'Menotyrannus is found as an epithet of the Phrygian deity Attis, daughter of Cybele, in some Latin inscriptions. See the collection of Orellius, published in 1628, Nos. 1900, 1901, 2264, 2353.'

'By command of the gods, the sacred college has ordered the worship of Jupiter Masphalatenus and Menitiamus, and of Menityrannus, to be observed. The unbeliever shall acknowledge the power of Jupiter. Dionysius, son of Diodorus, and Hermogenes, son of Valerius, had charge of the execution. In the month of Dystrus of the year 256.'

No. VII. is engraved on red limestone. The bas-relief represents the figure of a woman, holding a nosegay in her right hand. She is placed in a niche between two columns.

Beneath the figure are the following hexameter verses:

VII.

Χαίροις ὦ παροδίτα, τιμῆς εἰσάκουσον ἐμεῖο.
Οὔνομα δὴ Γλυκίαν, ἐσορᾷς δὲ μὲ παρθένον οὖσαν·
Τὴν δ' ἄρ' ἐμὴν νεότητα πατὴρ Παιδέρως ἐνέγραψεν,
Καὶ μήτηρ Γλυκία, καὶ Τιμογένης ὁ ἀδελφὸς,
Μηϊόνες* Μάρκος καὶ Νείκυς, αἵδε τε μάμμαι†·
Τιμογένις καὶ Ψυχὴ τὴν ἔγγονον ἐτίμησαν ἐμὲν ἣν οὔποτε ἤλπισα τιμήν.
Ἔτους σϛθ μηνὸς Δίου.

'Hail! traveller, and learn the honour I have received.
You behold me a virgin of the name of Glycia.
My father Pæderos has recorded my youth;
And my mother Glycia, and my brother Timogenes,
And the Mæonians Marcus and Neicys, and my two grandmothers
Timogenis and Psyche, have all honoured me, — an honour which I never hoped for.
In the month Dius, of the year 299.'

* 'Probably her lovers, natives of the city of Mæonia, of which this inscription seems, therefore, to indicate the site.'

† 'The original is ΕΔΕΤΕΜ ΑΜΜΕ: but ε and αι, ο and ω, ι and ει, are continually confounded in these inscriptions.'

In the fifth line, it will be observed that mention is made of two Mæonians, Marcus and Neicys. Colonel Leake, supposing the inscriptions belonged to Kula, considered that this allusion identified the town with the ancient city of Mæonia; but on referring to my notes, I discovered that the last three inscriptions (Nos. V. VI. and VII.) were brought by my host from a vineyard, near a village two leagues distant, actually bearing the name of Megna,* which closely resembles Mæonia. My host further informed me, that several other monuments were to be seen there, as also at Arablides, Durasali, and, indeed, in all the villages of this neighbourhood.

During my antiquarian search, I saw nearly the whole Greek population. I was particularly struck with the appearance of the women. I understand their beauty is celebrated throughout Asia Minor. Their holyday head-dress is

* The letters *gn* in Megna had the sound which the same letters have in the Italian words *degno, legno.*

quite classical, bearing a strong resemblance to the Phrygian cap.

The same remark applies to the Greeks of Kula as to those of the country we had quitted, namely, that Turkish is their colloquial language.

My host gave me some wine, brought from his vineyard at Mæonia. It was the best I had tasted in the course of my journey. Strabo, alluding to the excellence of the wine of the Catacaumene, (the burned-up country), says, hence Bacchus is said to be born of fire.*

Kula to Ghieuldiz, one hour. Course north-west. — By four o'clock in the afternoon I had finished my examination; I therefore ordered the horses, and we dined in the meanwhile. Mustapha refused to drink wine, from a recollection of his adventure at Adala, saying, "We have a river to cross,

* .. Εικότως πυριγενῆ τὸν Διόνυσον λέγεσθαι φασίν.—STRAB. lib. xiii. p. 628.

and I had rather go to Paradise than to the devil."

We set out an hour before dusk, and proceeding north-west for three miles, arrived at the village of Ghieuldiz, where the aga consigned us to the principal Greek house.

This village is built entirely of stone. It contains one hundred houses, of which seventy are Greek, and thirty Turkish. The priests say that it formerly contained one hundred and sixty houses. It produces nothing; the inhabitants going elsewhere for work, and eating the fruits of their labour at home. Nevertheless, it pays a tax of thirty thousand piasters to government, nearly the whole of which is defrayed by the Greek population.

January 9. I commenced my examination at daylight. Not only in the village itself, but at a considerable distance around it, may be traced foundations of houses and small temples. In the walls of the villages are numerous fragments of fine marble; bas-reliefs abound every where, and many have been

employed by the villagers for the structure of their houses, and are placed sideways, or upside down, as the shape best suited the builder. In all directions I saw Corinthian capitals, fragments of pillars, small broken statues, and a variety of sculptures. On these last the sacrifice of the bull is frequently observable. The greater part of them are, however, either votive altars or sepulchral monuments.

Amongst several inscriptions that I copied are the following:—

No. I. is surmounted by the crescent, the symbol of Lunus, to whom it will be seen the stone is dedicated.

I.

Ἔτους σζ μηνὸς Ζανδίκου κατ' ἐπιταγὴν Μηνὸς, Ἀζιοττήνου Ἀρτεμίδωρος . . . . . θερίου Κλαυδίου Φιλοκάλου δούλος ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν τέκνων ἀνέθηκεν.

'In the month Zandicus of the year 207. By command of Lunus Aziottenus, Artemidorus

. . . . . slave of Claudius Philocalus, has raised this monument for himself and children.'

No. II.

Ἔτους σ μηνὸς Ζανδίκου ιϵ, Ταπίας Γλύκωνος.

'In the month Zandicus, of the year 200, Tatias, son of Glycon.'

No. III. is on a votive altar; around it are numerous indications of an ancient temple.

III.

Διὶ Κεραυνίῳ ἀθανάτῳ, ϵὐυληθέντων τῶν σωμάτων δύο, Ἀπολλώνιος Ἀπολλωνίου καὶ Ἀπφίας ὑπὲρ τῆς ἑαυτῶν σωτηρίας καὶ τῶν τέκνων.

'To Jupiter the Thunderer and immortal, the two slaves having so desired it, Apollonius son of Apollonius, and Apphias, raise this monument for the welfare of themselves and children.'

For the better comprehension of the following remarks of Colonel Leake, it will be

advisable to refer to the inscriptions at Kula, marked Nos. V. VI. VII.

'I have adverted in one of the preceding notes to the word Μηϊόνες, in the epitaph on Glycia, as affording a presumption that it indicates the site of *Mæonia*, which we know to have been a city as well as a province, from Pliny, Hierocles, the list of Greek bishopricks, and many existing imperial coins of Mæonia, from Nero to Decius. On these coins are found the words Μαιόνων, δῆμος Μαιόνων, ἱερὰ σύγκλητος, Ζεὺς Ὀλύμπιος, as well as the names of several magistrates, both civil and sacred. The ἱερὰ σύγκλητος of the coins accords with the ἱερὰ συμβίωσις of one of the inscriptions of Kula; and the Ζεὺς Ὀλύμπιος with the worship of Jupiter, which is also apparent from them.

'As to Men, or Lunus, otherwise Attis or Adonis, he was a favourite deity in almost every city of the western part of Asia Minor.

'Pliny is supposed to have stated, that Mæonia stood on the roots of Mount Tmolus, on the river Cogamus; which does not very

accurately agree with the situation of Kula; but I conceive that he intended this description not for Mæonia but Philadelphia. On the other hand, his remark, that Mæonia was one of the cities of the Sardian jurisdiction,* accords with Kula; and equally so the position of the name of Mæonia in the enumeration of the cities of the consular province of Lydia by Hierocles. But there is a still stronger presumption derived from an observation of Vitruvius,† who remarks that Mæonia was not less famed for its wine, Catacecaumenitis, than Lydia was for its Tmolitis, or wine of Tmolus; for we are sure, from the descriptions both of Mr. Arundell and Major Keppel, that the country around Kula was the Catacecaumene; and it has been seen that one of the inscriptions of Kula has a reference to wine. Ghieuldiz appears to be the site of one of the towns on the populous banks of the Hermus; but I cannot offer any conjecture as to its ancient name.

* Lib. iv. c. 29. † Lib. viii. c. 3.

'The epoch employed, both here and in the inscriptions of Kula, is probably that of the battle of Actium, which was in general use under the Roman emperors; in which case the inscriptions are respectively of the reigns of Marcus Aurelius, Aurelius and Verus, Alexander Severus, Claudius II., and Diocletian; dates which agree with the tenor, style, and form of written character, in the documents. That of the reign of Alexander Severus, in which the ἱερὸς δοῦμος is mentioned, would seem to shew that the worship of Jupiter was then declining, caused undoubtedly by the increase of Christianity. It is certainly possible that Mæonia may have had a particular epoch, derived from some favour received from the emperor, such as the 17th of the Christian era, when Philadelphia, and some other cities in this volcanic vicinity, were destroyed by an earthquake, and were, in consequence, much indebted to the compassion of Tiberius; for it was from a similar cause that Cibyra founded an epoch,

which began A.D. 23.* There exists no evidence, however, on the coins or inscriptions of the towns destroyed in the year 17, that the event became an epoch among any of them; nor does the name of Mæonia occur in Tacitus,† or among the eight cities which are personified and named on the base of a colossal statue of Tiberius, which was found at Puteoli.‡ The battle of Actium, therefore, was probably the commencement of the æra in all the inscriptions.'

* Tacit. Annal. lib. iv. c. 12. † Ibid. lib. ii. c. 47.

‡ V. Gronov. Thes. vol. 7.

CHAPTER XX.

Cross the Hermus —Ancient Sculpture — Hot Spring—Cultivation— Rocky Scenery— Sirghié—Ancient Inscription — The Site of Bagæ — A Journey in Asia Minor recommended — Remarks of Colonel Leake — The old Roman Road — Wretched Cattle — Selendi — Mustapha's Arrogance.

GHIEULDIZ to Sirghié four hours—in a straight line, but we struck out of the road to visit a sculpture in the mountains. We went for five miles in an easterly direction, through a country of volcanic mountains, which brought us to the banks of the Hermus: we crossed the river by a well-built stone bridge. It is here very muddy, and rushes forward with great impetuosity through a bed of huge masses of rock. Its appearance reminded me of the Rhone near its source.

We marched for a mile to the northward,

along the base of a rocky mountain, and then turned abruptly to the east, along the bed of a mountain torrent tributary to the Hermus, which in two miles' march brought us to the object of our search.

Here the rock is cut out in the form of a semicircular arch, nearly three feet deep, four broad, and eight high. On the borders of the arch are sculptured wreaths of flowers. Within is a human statue, excavated out of the rock. The robes extend to the knee; the left hand grasps a bow, and the right appears to have formerly held an arrow. The figure is attended by a dog. It is about four feet high, and is in fine proportion: I consider it to represent Diana; but the head and breasts are considerably damaged, and it is possible that it may be Apollo instead of Diana; and what appears to be the crescent of the goddess, may be the remains of the Phrygian cap of the male deity.

On the right hand of this statue, and almost at right angles with it, is a smaller

sculpture; it represents a leafless tree, beside which is a man in a falling posture. Facing this sculpture, and immediately on the left of the supposed Diana, is a bas-relief, representing three human figures, in different attitudes, attending the couch of a fourth, which is lying in a recumbent position, apparently dead. One person is supporting the head of the corpse, another stands at the feet, and a third is in the middle, in a melancholy posture.

A hundred yards to the east of these sculptures is a hot spring, which issues out of the rock through several small apertures. It has a very strong, sulphureous smell: the heat is one hundred and thirty degrees of Fahrenheit. A little below is a small Turkish hot bath, fourteen feet square. There is a small village a little farther on, which is called Hummaum, from this spring.

We retraced our steps as far as the bridge, and again crossing it, continued some little time along its bank. We then proceeded south, going occasionally a little to the east-

ward, and always keeping the Hermus on our left hand. Sometimes we travelled along its banks: at others we passed through the country in its neighbourhood.

The plains here have been newly cultivated, in consequence of an imperial firman, which promises certain privileges to the cultivator. This is done in consequence of the extreme dearth of corn in the capital, and indeed throughout the empire.

The last two hours of the march were after dark, and almost entirely along the banks of the river. The road led over huge perpendicular masses of rock. The scenery here was exceedingly wild, particularly as seen by the light of the moon, which, as I scrambled from rock to rock, revealed to me the yawning gulf below, into which it appeared a false step of the horse would have inevitably plunged me.

We reached Sirghié at eight in the evening, and established ourselves in the house of the aga, who was absent from home.

Sirghié is a post station. It is situated on

the banks of the Hermus; the inhabitants are manufacturers of carpets. There are but fifteen houses; yet the aga's house is spacious, and his attendants appear to be numerous. When it is remembered, that all these people are fed by the villagers, who have the cost of their subsistence to add to the burthens of the government taxes, can it be wondered at, that the Turkish peasant is poor?

In the aga's stable-yard is the following inscription:—

Τοῖς κυρίοις ἡμῶν Καΐῳ Οὐαλερίῳ Διοκλητιανῷ καὶ Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι Μάρκῳ Οὐαλερίῳ Μαξιμιανῷ καὶ Φλαουίῳ Οὐαλερίῳ Κωνσταντίῳ καὶ Οὐαλερίῳ Μαξιμιανῷ τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτοις Καίσαρσιν τῆς λάνπρας Βαγηνῶν πόλεως ἀπο-(φ)ά(σ)ει.

'To our sovereign lords Caius Valerius Diocletianus and the emperor Cæsar Marcus Valerius Maximianus, and to the most illustrious Cæsars Flavius Valerius Constantius and

Valerius Maximianus, by a decree of the renowned city of the Bageni.'

This pillar was transported from the opposite side of the river, on which there are some vestiges of ruins.

Bagæ is mentioned by Hierocles, as one of the towns in a province of Asia. On the coins extant of this city, is the inscription ΒΑΓΗΝΩΝ, together with the figure and name of the river god 'ΕΡΜΟΣ, which coincides perfectly with the position of Sirghié on the banks of that stream.

Thus, without any previous preparation, for accident alone induced me to visit Asia Minor, I have been the means of making known the sites of six ancient cities; namely, Azani, Cadi, Julio-Gordus, Attalia, Mæonia, and Bagæ. I have, besides, traced the Hermus to its source, and have thrown a considerable light on the course of the Rhyndacus. The object of alluding to these discoveries, is to

shew the antiquarian traveller the prospect he has of a successful search, and to induce him to visit this classical and interesting region, which has hitherto remained a blank in all modern maps.

At a more favourable season of the year than that in which I travelled, this journey might be performed with perfect ease and safety.

Much useless labour might be saved by a previous study of the geography of the country. For this purpose, the traveller would be benefited by the perusal of such parts of the twelfth and thirteenth books of Strabo as relate to Phrygia, Lydia, Ionia, and Mysia.

He would also derive assistance by applying to the Royal Geographical Society of London, of which I have the honour to be a member of council; one of the objects of this society being to facilitate the researches of travellers. He is further recommended to have, as a constant book of reference, the "Journal of a Tour in Asia Minor," by Colonel Leake, to

whom I once more beg to acknowledge my high sense of the obliging assistance I have received from him.

The following observations of that intelligent geographer, elicited by a perusal of my notes, may be of service to the future visitor of the north-western part of Asia Minor:

'There can be little doubt that a more accurate examination than has yet been made of the banks of the Hermus, from its junction with the sea to its sources near Cadi, would lead to the discovery of several ancient sites; since we may be assured, that the banks of this great river were not less thickly inhabited than those of the Cayster and Mæander. Among the cities near the Hermus, were Bagæ, Tabala, and the Saetteni, as appears from some of their coins, which, like some of those of Cadi, are inscribed with the name Ἕρμος, generally accompanied with the figure of a river god.

'When I published the "Journal of a Tour in Asia Minor," I hazarded the opinion, that

the name Clannuda, occurring in no authority but the Tabular Itinerary, was a corruption. I have lately learnt, however, that a coin exists in the possession of a gentleman at Smyrna, bearing the inscription Κλαννουδέων. The Aludda of the Table, which is probably a corruption of Attuda, or the city τῶν Ἀττουδέων, as the name of the people is inscribed on their coins, seems to have been, like Clannuda, near the left bank of the Hermus, and not far from where the road quitted the river, and proceeded in a direct course to Cotyaeium. If remains of Attuda should be found by the future traveller, in the situation indicated by the distances, he would also probably succeed in discovering Acmonia, at about five-twelfths of the interval between the site of Attuda and Kutaya.

'The site of Bagæ (called Bagis in Hierocles) is shewn from an inscription copied by Major Keppel at Sirghié, to have been nearly opposite to that village, near the right bank of

the Hermus. The city of the Saetteni would seem to have been near the junction of the Hyllus and Hermus, as both these rivers are named on the coins of that people. According to the course of the Hermus above Bagæ, as now ascertained from the itineraries of Major Keppel and Mr. Arundell, the Roman road from Philadelphia to Dorylæum approached the left bank of the river near Yenishéhr, the distance of which place from Allashéhr according with that of Clannuda from Philadelphia, in the Tabular Itinerary, shews that Clannuda was situated near Yenishéhr; and some remains of the ancient city might be sought at or near that place, with the greater confidence, as the sum of the distances on the entire road in the Table, agrees with the reality.'

From Sirghié Dr. Millingen went to Ieni Kieu. His route was four hours to Ieni Shehr, three to Dervent, and two to Ieni Kieu. At the latter place he saw a few

fragments of wrought marble and broken columns, and heard from some of the older inhabitants, that a large slab, with a long inscription, had been removed from that place to Ghiédiz, for the pavement of a bath.

From Ieni Kieu he proceeded to Ghiédiz, a journey of six hours. A quarter of an hour before reaching Ghiédiz, he saw considerable remains of broken columns, and other indications of antiquity, lying on the ground. From the general appearance of the road between Ghiédiz and Ieni Kieu, he is of opinion that here formerly was the Roman road.

My route to Ghiédiz was not the same as Dr. Millingen's; for, not having my own horses, I was obliged to go in the direction where I could obtain those of the post.

The beasts at Sirghié were so wretchedly bad, that they were not strong enough to carry us across the river, and we were obliged to hire camels for this purpose.

Our road was north, over a succession of hills. At three hours' distance we re-crossed

the river, to change horses at a post station called Selendi, a village of thirty-three houses.

Mustapha went with the firman to the aga; and, as was usual with this impertinent fellow, assumed the seat of honour, smoked the first pipe, and drank the first cup of coffee — all breaches of Turkish etiquette; these distinctions belonging properly to me. I seated myself in the middle of the ottoman, — was scarcely honoured with a nod by the aga,— and was pushed and elbowed by each succeeding new-comer, till I found myself close to the door.

In the meanwhile the firman was to be perused. Reading was not one of the aga's accomplishments; and the wise men of the village were sent for. Two of them tried their hands at it, but in vain; at length a third came; and, by dint of manifold spellings, the document was deciphered. The imperial signature was kissed, and placed submissively on the head. The contents being known, Mustapha was ousted out of his snug corner,

and I was placed there in his stead. The longest pipe, with the finest mouth-piece, was presented to me; and before I could look around me, a very comfortable little dinner was spread before me.

CHAPTER XXI.

Difficulty in procuring Horses — Kieurkji — Summary Punishment — Travelling Disasters — Detention at Ghiédiz — Ooranjik — A Living Skeleton — Remarks on the Depopulation of Asia Minor — Montesquieu quoted — Carle's Fears — The Land well cultivated — Afutleh — Course of the River Rhyndacus — Conversation with Greeks — Toushanlu, its Trade in Skins — Maimoon — Eelut — Ascent of Mount Olympus — Print of Wild Boars — Ainegheul — My Host, Tinghiroglou — Conversation with an Armenian Exile.

We found great difficulty in procuring horses, but succeeded at last, the aga lending me his own charger. We then re-crossed the Hermus, and proceeding east for three hours and a half, arrived at Kieurkji, a Turkish village containing eleven wretched hovels: here we halted for the night.

Our horses were incapable of proceeding further, so that it was necessary to send back to Selendi for others. A villager who had

just returned home from plough was ordered on this service. The poor fellow not liking a walk of twenty miles after a hard day's work, naturally enough expostulated. A person in the employ of the aga happened to be seated before one of the houses, sedately smoking his pipe: he no sooner heard the man demur, than he broke the pipe-stick over the unfortunate recusant's head, and seizing a stake from the hedge, so belaboured him that he was obliged to submit. I had been witness to the fracas, but was kept ignorant of the cause till the man was fairly on his road. I told the person in authority that I was sorry the poor peasant had suffered on my account. "You don't know these fellows," was the reply; "they are all the better for a good thrashing." This modern Phrygian probably was not aware of the proverb that applied to the former inhabitants of this country: "Phryx verberatus melior."

January 11. Kieurchee to Ghiédiz, twelve hours; course, north one hour; and east the

rest of the march. The country mountainous, and abounding in firs and stunted oak.

The beaten man returned with fresh horses an hour after midnight; we resumed our journey at about eight, and a wretched day we had of it. We gained but little by the aga's relay of horses. That on which the surijee rode fell twice in crossing bridges. The second time was in going over some wooden planks placed across a deep ravine. The horse staggered and fell near the brink, the surijee under him: in his effort to recover his legs, the poor beast dropped into the chasm, a depth of twenty feet: I thought the bones of the animal must have been completely smashed; luckily the ground was soft, and he sustained but little damage. Carle's horse lay down with him twice; and the animal I rode, after tottering and stumbling for ten hours, at length fairly gave in, and refused to proceed with me on his back for either whip or spur. The surijee gave me up his horse, and walked himself the rest of the march. To complete our misfor-

tunes, night came on, and with it a violent shower of rain. It was altogether a day of disappointment; for I had fully looked forward to a good dinner with my friend the aga of Ghiédiz; but he had retired to his haram long before we arrived.

January 12. We were detained the whole of this day for want of horses. The aga sent several persons into the dependent villages, and put in prison three men who would not let us hire theirs. They would have granted them to Kutaya, the regular post; but it was so much out of my route, that I declined.

Three Tartars arrived here in the course of the day with firmans for various districts, commanding persons in authority to send every one in pursuit of the Zebeks.

January 13. Ghiédiz to Tjavdéré Hissar.—By dint of threats, and holding the disobedience of the firman *in terrorem,* we induced the post-master to give us horses to go in the direction

we desired. I availed myself of this permission to pay another visit to the ruins of Azani.

January 14. Tjavdéré Hissar to Afutleh, three hours and a half, course north. — We kept along the extensive plain of Tjavdéré Hissar for an hour and a half. This brought us to Ooranjik. We passed several Turkish burying-grounds full of the finest specimens of Grecian architecture, and saw two large marble pillars, which appear to have formerly been used for gates. We repeatedly crossed the Tjavdéré stream, which changes its name to Ooranjik, according to the village through which it passes.

We presented our firman to the waiwoda of Ooranjik, who immediately gave orders to procure us horses from among the villagers, there being no regular post at this place.

Ooranjik is in the government of Kutaya, and contains one hundred houses. Its inhabitants are wholly occupied in agriculture;

wheat and barley are the principal articles of cultivation.

The same sad tale of the inhabitants is told here as elsewhere: all the youths have been made conscripts; there remain only beardless boys and grey-bearded men.

I cannot quit this subject without offering a few observations on this evil.

In the space of little more than two years, has nearly the whole effective population of this fertile region been dragged from home, to recruit an army of which scarcely a vestige now exists; for, with the exception of a mere handful of men at Shumla, nothing remains of the Ottoman force. To borrow a Turkish phrase, "It has been removed from the surface of the earth."

What will the regenerating system of Mahmoud avail in such a case? Is there any hope that a peasantry so destroyed will be again supplied?

It would require no great foresight to prognosticate, that as long as the Turkish govern-

ment shall last, so long must the population continue rather to diminish than increase: but remembering that there are still to be found those who believe in the improvement of this empire, I shall cite a much better authority than my own, that of Montesquieu :—

" Lorsqu'un état se trouve dépeuplé par des accidens particuliers, des guerres, des pestes, des famines, il y a des ressources. Les hommes qui restent peuvent conserver l'esprit de travail et d'industrie; ils peuvent chercher à réparer leurs malheurs, et devenir plus industrieux par leur calamité même. Le mal presque incurable est lorsque la dépopulation vient de longue main, par un vice intérieur et un mauvais gouvernement. Les hommes y ont péri par une maladie insensible et habituelle : nés dans la langueur et dans la misère, dans la violence ou les préjugés du gouvernement, ils se sont vu détruire, souvent sans sentir les causes de leur destruction. Les pays désolés par le despotisme, ou par les avantages excessifs du clergé

sur les laïques, en sont deux grands exemples.

" Pour rétablir un état ainsi dépeuplé, on attendroit en vain des secours des enfans, qui pourroit naître. Il n'est plus temps; des hommes, dans leurs déserts, sont sans courage, et sans industrie. Avec des terres pour nourrir un peuple, on a à peine de quoi nourrir une famille. Le bas peuple, dans ces pays, n'a pas même de part à leur misère, c'est-à-dire aux friches, dont ils sont remplis. Le clergé, le prince, les villes, les grands, quelques citoyens principaux, sont devenus insensiblement propriétaires de toute la contrée; elle est inculte; mais les familles détruites leur en ont laissé les pâtures, et l'homme de travail rien." — MONTESQ. *Esprit des Loix,* lib. xxiii. chap. 28.

The master of the house to which we were consigned during our short stay, was a most wretched-looking object, being almost as much a skeleton as the Anatomie Vivante shewn in London. In some respects he was in a worse

condition, for he had no toes, and nearly all his limbs were paralysed.

He had been travelling, in company with another Turk, from this his native village to the town of Brusa, in the month of January; on ascending Mount Olympus they had encountered a snow storm, had lost their way, and had fallen into the snow. This man's companion was frozen to death; but he has himself now survived the accident eleven years.

The coincidence of Brusa being our present destination, and the month being the same as that on which the accident happened, acted very strongly on the superstitious fear of my servant, who constantly reverted to the subject, until we were safely housed on the opposite base of Mount Olympus.

We had hitherto experienced so much delay, from the difficulty of procuring horses, that we engaged to take all we required from this place to Brusa; circumstances, however, obliged us to abandon this plan before we reached that town.

We ascended mountains covered with pine and juniper, and entered a country highly cultivated throughout. That this was a new process, was evident from the heaps of stones which had lately been piled, in order to clear the land for the plough. So novel an appearance of industry naturally induced inquiry. The answers illustrated the capability of this country and people. The peasants in the neighbourhood had not been impressed into the army; and a promise of protecting the fruits of their labour had been made to them.

The policy of this measure, which, however, is adopted only to meet the exigency of the moment, is so obvious, that it is to be hoped the sultan may see the benefit of protecting agriculture,—of increasing his own, while he adds to the wealth of his subjects; but there is no part of his conduct hitherto to justify the entertainment of this opinion.

Afutleh is a small village, which supplies Constantinople with flints, — an article for

which there is a great demand, where fire-arms are so general, and where every one requires fire for his pipe.

January 15. Afutleh to Eelut, seven hours, course north one hour, and then gradually round to the north-west. — We crossed a mountain, and then entered an extensive and populous plain, saw several villages, and passed through one called Kroo-chace.

We again fell in with the Tjavdere stream, and hovered about its banks nearly the whole day's march. It is increased in size, and is here called Taushanlu, from the principal town in the plain. This river is the Rhyndacus, respecting which Colonel Leake observes:

'The most remarkable correction in the geography of the part of Asia Minor traversed by Major Keppel, and which is derived from his observations, is in the course of the Rhyndacus. This river is found to rise in the Azanitis, as Strabo has remarked; but Azani

being much farther to the south-east than I had supposed, the river is proportionally lengthened. Major Keppel followed it to Taushanlū, about twenty-five miles below the position of Azani, beyond which, according to Strabo, it should receive many streams from Mysia Abrettene,* a part of the country which is yet to be explored, as well as the course of the Macistus, or great western branch of the Rhyndacus, which joins that river between Mikalítza and the sea. At the sources of the Macistus, as I before remarked, stood Ancyra of Phrygia, the discovery of which would probably lead to that of Synaus and of Blaundus. This last place, which Strabo describes to have been near Ancyra, appears, from its coins, to have been situated on a river called the Hippurius. Whether this be a tributary of the

* ὁ Ῥυνδακὸς ῥεῖ ποταμὸς, τὰς ἀρχὰς ἔχων ἐκ τῆς Ἀζανίτιδος· προσλαβὼν δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἀβρεττηνῆς Μυσίας ἄλλους τε καὶ Μάκεστον ἀπ' Ἀγκύρας τῆς Ἀβασίτιδος ἐκδίδωσιν εἰς τὴν Προποντίδα, κατὰ Βίσβικον νῆσον.—STRAB. lib. xii. p. 576.

Macistus, or Hyllus, remains to be determined.'

At Taushanlu we stopped an hour, for the entertainment of man and beast. We there fell in with four or five Greeks, whose heads were full of undefined notions of liberty, and of the new Greek constitution, about which they talked with all the eagerness and enthusiasm for which this most sanguine people are so remarkable.

Taushanlu has five hundred houses, which, with the exception of twenty Armenian families, are occupied by Turks. The word Taushan signifies "hare;" and the town derives its name from this animal, the skins of which, from the excellence of the fur, form a considerable article of commerce. Great quantities of opium are also grown in this plain.

The conscription has not yet visited this place. Carle tried to persuade the inhabitants that I was one of the European instructors of drill, and was come here to assist in raising troops. My military Turkish cap, and my

Tartar attendant, favoured the report, and kept several young men, who had been very intrusive, at a more respectful distance.

The keeper of the khan told me that I was the first person he had ever seen in a European dress.

An hour from Taushanlu is a village called Maimoon: some distance further on, is a vast fragment of a rock, detached from the mountain, the effects of an avalanche which took place five years ago.

In the course of the afternoon we arrived at Eelut, a small village of eight miserable hovels, not one of which was weather tight.

January 16. Eelut to Goorchabelli, six hours; a winding course between north-east and north-west, over mountains and valleys. This day's march was across a second range of Mount Olympus. Halted at a small village, in the neighbourhood of which there have evidently

been two temples. I purchased two coins of the Lower Empire.

January 17. Goorchabelli to Ainegheul, nine hours, five of which were occupied in the ascent of another ridge of Olympus. The road was for the most part over beaten snow. We saw numerous prints of wild boars in the snow, and traced the blood of a wounded animal for several miles. We saw also the foot-marks of abundance of hares. The south side of the mountain is covered with firs, oaks, and beach; the wood here is used for ship building. The whole ground is covered with an underwood of strawberries. Our march was, properly speaking, nine hours; but it was ten by the bad pace of the mules.

At five in the afternoon we arrived at Ainegheul, and were assigned a quarter by the aga. We here dismissed Ali, the man who had accompanied us from Ooranjik. He was the owner of two mules, and had cer-

tainly made us pay a very good price for very bad cattle. Carle revenged himself on him, by urging the mule on which he was seated, which so bumped him, that he was as willing to part with us as we were with him.

The inhabitants are all Turks. Ainegheul has three hundred houses. Mustapha was last year charged with the firman of impressment to this place. He at that time took away a hundred men; this year only thirty have hitherto been impressed.

January 18. Ainegheul to Brusa, eight hours. Course three hours north, and then gradually round to the west.

Our road lay at the foot of Mount Olympus, which we kept close at our left hand. In three hours and a half we passed through Acson; and after traversing a country as much favoured by the bounties of nature as it is cursed by the oppression of man, we arrived, early in the day, at Brusa, the former seat of the Ottoman empire.

I had been furnished with a letter, by Mr. Whittall's Armenian broker, to one of the Tinghiroglou family, one of the most affluent and respected of the Armenian Catholics. As soon as I had taken my bath, I called on this gentleman. He received me in the most respectful manner, paid me every possible attention, and insisted upon my occupying the best room in his house. His wife and daughters, dressed out in jewels and brocades, each in turn knelt, as they almost forcibly kissed my hand; and were always before me, with either coffee, sweetmeats, or pipes.

January 19. Rode with Tinghiroglou through the beautiful suburbs of Brusa; swam in the natural hot springs; and afterwards purchased in the bazaar some Brusa silks. I paid for them with one of Herries and Farquhar's transferable bills of exchange, which, by the way, are very convenient for travellers whose movements may be so undecided as were my own.

Amongst our dishes at dinner was some capital wild venison. I made acquaintance in the evening with Menas, a banished Catholic Armenian, an exceedingly intelligent and well-informed man. He spoke excellent French and Italian; and shewed me some sketches of his daughter's — very fair specimens of proficiency in the art of drawing. We had a long conversation on the subject of his brethren in exile. "Education," said he, "is making rapid progress amongst us. Deprived of our business, we have little else to do. This diffusion of knowledge is producing the natural consequences, — a hatred of the Turkish government, and a conviction of its desperate condition. Before this cruel khatty sherif was issued against us, there was no class of subjects better disposed than ourselves towards the Ottoman rule. No charge could be more false than that we intended to conspire against the sultan. We had previously been the most favoured of his subjects: we must have lost by any change. The absurdity of such an

accusation may be shewn by the conduct of the Catholics in several of the Archipelago islands, who, though repeatedly urged, would take no part whatever in the Greek revolution; and for a very simple reason, namely, that they did not feel themselves aggrieved. But," added he, "the case is very different now; and if we should hereafter prove to be the dangerous subjects the sultan has considered us to be, he should bear in mind, that we have been indebted to his highness himself for the suggestion."

CHAPTER XXII.

Injudicious Imposts on the Trade of Brusa — Moudania — A Greek Seaport — My Host's Daughter — Leave Moudania in a Caique — Land at the Fishing Village of Caperli — Embark in a Sailing Vessel — Anchor off St. Stephano — A Fire in Constantinople — Turkish want of Precaution, founded on the Dogma of Fatalism — D'Ohsson's Remarks on this Creed — Land at Pera — Ball at the Palace — A Turkish Colonel and his Russian Friends — The Sultan's Sister and Daughter in Frank Street — Depression of Commerce and Agriculture — Departure from Constantinople — Reflections on quitting Turkey — Desperate State of the Ottoman Empire — Inefficiency of the Army — State of Turkish Affairs, in Europe, Africa, and Asia — Character of the Sultan — His Addiction to Drinking — Fickleness — His Conduct on the Extinction of the Janisaries — Mahmoud the Second, and Peter the Great — Arrive at Malta — Meet Lord Dunlo — Embark on board His Majesty's Ship Spartiate — Arrive in England.

BRUSA having formerly been the seat of government, has a separate administration of its revenues, and is subject to a less oppressive

system of taxation than the neighbouring provinces. Still, it has not been exempt from the evils which are rapidly hurrying Turkey to its downfal. The grievances under which this once flourishing province is labouring, arise partly from the general distresses of the empire, and partly from the sultan's own oppressive and short-sighted policy. The levies of troops have been carried on here, though not quite in proportion to other places. This is one cause of decline; another is, an impolitic act of Mahmoud, in laying an export duty on Brusa silks, equal to the import duty that was taken off in England. The pretence was, the fear that all would be exported, and that none would be left for home consumption. This imposition raised the price at Constantinople so much, that no English merchant would purchase; the growers, therefore, to get rid of the article at any price, were obliged to sell it at a great loss, to their own ruin. Ever since, this fertile and delightful province is beginning to exhibit the same symptoms of

decay that pervade every part of this ill-fated empire.

January 20. Brusa to Moudania.—Started at four in the morning. The road in many places was impassable, and we were obliged to make our way through vineyards, the horses knee-deep in mud. After six hours' floundering in this way, we arrived at the sea-port town of Moudania, and went direct to the waiwoda, to beg that we might be provided with a boat to Constantinople. The inhabitants are all Greeks, and are at once cultivators and boatmen. No caique was procurable, the whole population being absent trimming the vines. We were assigned a quarter in a Greek's house, where we passed the remainder of the day.

Our boatmen came in from work in the afternoon, and declared themselves ready to embark, after stopping a few hours for refreshment and rest.

A young man, one of the crew, was be-

trothed to the host's daughter. She was a pretty little girl, and I exhausted my limited stock of Romaic in telling her so. She took all I said in good part, as did her future husband, who seemed not to have a spark of jealousy in his composition: in fact, as they had never exchanged a look of recognition, I was not aware of their being acquainted; nor was it till afterwards that I knew the relation in which they stood towards each other.

January 21. We embarked in an eight-oared caique at three in the morning. Our boatmen continued to row for seven hours, without intermission, against a heavy swell and a strong head wind. At half-past ten we arrived at the small Greek fishing village of Caperli, where we suffered another day's detention.

January 22. The wind and swell continuing, it was impossible for the slender caique to live in such a sea; at the same time, it was

tantalising to see the domes and minarets of Constantinople, and to be half starved in a wretched village. With some difficulty I induced a sailing vessel to convey us across the Propontis. We had to beat up the whole day, and at dusk anchored off Cape St. Stephano, being unable to make way against the wind.

We had not been long at anchor, when, from the red tinge of the sky in the direction of Constantinople, we perceived that there was a fire. It was soon extinguished. The cause of its being so speedily put out was explained to me the next morning. Some Turks of rank were dining with the officers on board the Blonde, when they heard the cry of *yangun war* (fire). The whole crew of the frigate was immediately sent ashore, and, under the judicious guidance of their officers, our sailors soon extinguished a fire which, had it been left to the Turks, promised to equal in extent that which had broken out in the month of July.

The few precautions taken by the sultan against fire and plague, may be cited as omis-

sions from which the prototype of Peter the Great should have been free.

This negligence in matters of such importance is attributable to the Turkish dogma of predestination; and the apologists of the sultan contend, that to guard against the two dreadful scourges of Constantinople, would shock the religious prejudices of the Turks, as questioning the unerring decrees of fate.

When his own humours have been concerned, his sublime highness has not been so considerate of the prejudices of his people: but let us consider how far this apology can avail.

The 22d article of Turkish faith, which asserts the doctrine of predestination, admits, at the same time, the principle of free agency.

In D'Ohsson's remarks upon this article, he says that Muphtys declare, "whoever denies free will, *ikhtiyar d'jwz'y*, in attributing human actions to the will of the Deity, sins against religion, and if he persist in his error, he is a wicked infidel, worthy of death."

The same author observes, that the influence of this disastrous system upon the state in general is more or less powerful according to the genius and intelligence of the monarch and ministers who have the administration of affairs; and cites two sovereigns as having risen above the national prejudice. The first of these was Omer, who was marching against Syria, but hearing that the plague was raging on his line of march, retired to Medina. One of his friends expressed his surprise at his having acted contrary to the dogma of predestination. "You are mistaken," said Omer; "our holy prophet has declared, that he who finds himself in the fire ought to be resigned to the Divine will; but whoever is out of the fire ought to keep out."

D'Ohsson then mentions Bajazet the Second as another instance of the triumph over bigotry, and goes on to observe:—

"These examples, supported on the true principles of law, would be a powerful weapon which an enterprising and enlightened monarch

might wield against false opinions, from which so many physical and political evils spring, and which lay waste and desolate the Ottoman empire. If the Ottomans do not take the precautions of establishing lazarettos at Constantinople, and in other great towns; if they do not construct houses of stone instead of wood, to guarantee themselves from the frequency of conflagration; if, in short, they do not adopt the wise regulations of Europe in the civil and political administration of affairs, they have neither religion nor law to plead as obstacles, but rather those disastrous prejudices which might the more easily be overcome, because they might be combated with the Koran in hand."*

January 23. We got under weigh again in the morning, and, passing the far-famed Seven Towers, we were moored off the suburbs

* Vide D'Ohsson, tome i. pp. 164—177, where he has treated this subject more at length.

of Constantinople. Here I quitted the sailing yessel, and stepped into a caique, which landed me at Pera.

Sir Robert Gordon and all my English friends were absent on a shooting excursion, as was also, for the same purpose, the sultan. Dunlo had left Turkey for England. The Hon. W. White, of the Royal Yacht Club, had quitted the channel cruisers, and had dropped his anchor under the walls of the Seraglio; one object being to take home my quondam fellow-traveller.

January 24. The ambassador and party returned this morning; they had killed some wild boars. Captain Lyons was, I believe, the most successful of the party.

January 26. A ball at the British palace; but the weather so intensely cold, that many ladies were prevented from coming. Abidy Bey, colonel of the sultan's hussars, was present, as were also several Russians, who

all seemed to have taken a violent fancy to the Turkish officer, and evinced their partialities in their national manner, by pinching him in the ribs, and throwing their arms round his neck and waist.

January 27. Walking down "Frank Street," I met a clumsy car, drawn by two bullocks; the vehicle, as well as the animals, was covered over with tinsel. The equipage contained two Turkish females, one about forty years of age, the other apparently ten. They were without veils. Both seemed to be highly rouged. The younger lady was dressed in the Parisian fashion; her eyebrows were painted so as to form two arches, which met on the nose. The street was full of Franks at the time: we were all told that the ladies were the sultan's sister and daughter.

January 28. I received letters from England urging the necessity of my immediate return. I obeyed the summons, not sorry to

excuse myself from a projected journey in Moldavia, Wallachia, and Albania. I had seen enough of the effects of despotism, and I longed to breathe a freer air.

I embarked on board the "Smyrna packet," as she was making her last tack out of the harbour. She had been detained twelve days for her firman. This was constantly the manner in which ships belonging to England, Turkey's "ancient ally," were treated; as for the vessels of her newer friend, Russia, they suffered no detention.

How different were my impressions at the close of this journey from what they had been at its commencement!

I had expected to find a people grateful to their sovereign for having raised them from that abject state into which they had previously sunk, and for having relieved them from the persecution of an unlicensed soldiery; I had thought to see the place of that soldiery supplied by an effective force, trained to European tactics, whose high national courage, now that

it was combined with discipline and skill, would enable them to resist the encroachments of their inveterate foe; I had pictured to myself an Alpine barrier in the Balcan mountains; I had expected to see the passes well secured, and the Osmanli maintaining this last bulwark of his country with that desperate valour which has always characterised him in the defence of fortified works.

I had hoped to find the evils of a despotic government mitigated by the judicious forbearance of the sultan, and to trace its effects in the growing prosperity of commerce and agriculture.

My conjectures had no foundation in fact.

On my arrival in the Turkish capital, the streets were yet reeking with the blood of three thousand of her citizens, who, insulted in their religious prejudices, and oppressed by additional burdens, had been put to death for expressing their dissatisfaction against the sultan and the existing order of things.

The first I saw of the Turkish army was in

a disordered retreat from a victorious enemy, to whom they had abandoned, almost without firing a shot, their mountain passes and the former capital of their empire.

This remnant of the army consisted of a few boys, too young to bear the fatigues of a campaign, to which, rather than to the sword of the enemy, so many thousands of their comrades had fallen a sacrifice, their former national spirit completely broken, and their feelings in favour of the conquerors. The officers, raised from the lowest situations, ignorant, inefficient, and, by the proscribing laws against the admission of Europeans into their ranks, debarred the means of obtaining improvement. Without a staff, without a commissariat, and without the necessary equipment of an army in the field. The Balcan untenable even in the hands of a European army; and the few barriers which the nature of the ground presented not made available.

Commerce, instead of prospering, weighed down by the insecurity of life and property; by

the banishment of one of the wealthiest, and nearly the only people well affected towards the government; by the neglect of those advantages of position which this country possesses; by the unnatural fluctuations of the exchange; by the debasement of the coin; by unjust prosecutions; by ruinous and grievous monopolies, of which the sultan himself is the great promoter.

The same evils pressing equally heavily on agriculture, besides one yet more ruinous than them all. On the European side of the Bosphorus, the greater portion of the inhabitants swept away by the calamities of war, those that remain, with arms in their hands, ready to act with the invaders. On the Asiatic side, nearly a whole population forcibly dragged from their homes to recruit an army which has ceased to exist; the remainder either in open rebellion, or only waiting for the opportunity to be so.

These circumstances came within my personal observation; but if we look beyond my

track, the prospect of Turkish affairs will be scarcely less gloomy.

To begin with Europe. The Pasha of Scutari, whose movements when I was at Adrianople excited so much suspicion, shortly after removed all doubts of his intention, by hoisting the standard of rebellion.

The Servians and Bosniacks are, as well as the Bulgarians and Roumeliots, ripe for revolt. The two fertile provinces of Wallachia and Moldavia, from which the sultan derived his ships and his treasure, are in the hands of the Russians. The Greeks are in the possession of a great portion of Greece, and their independence is acknowledged by the sultan; an act which, for reasons before assigned, will very probably hurl him from his throne.

In Africa, we find that the tributary kingdom of Algiers has ceased to form a part of the Turkish dominions; and that Egypt is worse than lost, the breach between Ali the Pasha and Mahmoud the sultan being farther widened by the unsuccessful attempt of the power-

less monarch to possess himself of the head of his mighty subject.

In Asia the affairs of Mahmoud are in no better condition.

While Count Diebitsch was marching one Russian army through the European provinces of Turkey, having hardly any obstacles but those of climate to encounter, Count Paskevitch was conducting another through the Asiatic dominions of the sultan. Instead of being opposed as an invader, he was hailed as a deliverer. I was informed, on very credible authority, that the conquest of Armenia was achieved at the loss of ten men killed and forty wounded. As the Russian general advanced, the pashas vied with each other in tendering their submission. The Pasha of Bagdad begged for Russian troops to garrison his town; and the Pasha of Erzeroom has accepted office under the enemy of his country.

From the foregoing remarks, it will be perceived that the difficulties of Mahmoud are tenfold greater than those against which

Peter had to contend. Let us now consider whether there is a proportionate superiority of intellect in the Turkish sovereign to meet these difficulties.

It is not my intention to recapitulate the instances of Mahmoud's incapacity which are scattered over this work. I shall add a few more observations, to justify the assumption that the character of the present sultan is very far from coming up to the exaggerated notions that have been formed and promulgated respecting it.

It is currently asserted that Mahmoud is very much addicted to strong drink. This accomplishment he is said to have learned from his barber. His favourite beverage consists of strong liqueurs. The orders for many of his most violent acts are supposed to have been given while under the influence of spirits. His preference to liqueurs is because they contain the greatest quantity of excitement in the smallest space.

Fickleness is a point in his character that

may be very fairly assumed. When his cavalry regiment was first established, he was in the habit of superintending its manœuvres for several hours every day: at the period of my departure from Constantinople, eleven months had elapsed since he had seen the regiment under arms. This propensity is also shewn in the building of palaces, and deserting them as soon as finished. Numerous examples of this expensive folly now line each shore of the Bosphorus. The same feeling is indicated by the constant changing of his own and his troops' dress. It is this latter attempt at conforming to European customs that appears to have misled so many Englishmen into the belief of his beneficial reform. The European costume of the soldier is the first thing that strikes the eye of the new-comer. He perceives that it is an innovation, and assumes it to be an improvement; and hence he is disposed to give the sultan credit for conduct which is not warranted by his acts. Indeed, this innovation was the last that ought to have been attempted: it

was an invasion of his people's prejudices, the infliction of a deep wound on their pride, and was one that could lead to no good result. It was, moreover, singularly ill-timed, being at a moment when every exertion was requisite to meet the crisis of an approaching war.

The great measure that distinguishes this reign is the extinction of the janisaries; but I am informed, by those who had a good opportunity of judging, that this was principally effected by the chief of the Topijees (gunners), between which corps and the janisaries there had long existed a mortal feud. I hear that it was with the greatest difficulty Mahmoud could be persuaded to allow them to attempt what he had so much at heart to effect.

A few lines more to redeem a pledge of considering the parallel between the characters of Peter the Great and Mahmoud the Second.

The perfection to which agriculture was brought by Peter produced a sensible increase of the population, and added very much to the prosperity of the country.

The protection granted to foreign and domestic commerce rapidly produced industry, and its attendant, wealth. The enlightened czar connected the Wolga with the Neva by canals; he established ports at Asoff and St. Petersburgh; he had not a ship when he came to the throne, but in a very short period his navy beat the squadrons of Charles XII. The defeat of the Russian army at Nerva, and the victory they gained at Pultowa, shewed the rapid improvement of his troops in the art of war.

He added Livonia, Esthonia, Ingria, and a part of Finland, to the Russian dominions.

Has Mahmoud done any thing like this?

The reader is left to draw his own conclusions.

February 1. Arrived at Smyrna.

February 2. Left Smyrna in his Majesty's brig Ferret, Captain Hastings; arrived at Voorla in the evening.

February 3. Left Voorla in the Orestes transport.

February 5. Anchored in Port Nausa, in the island of Paros. Dined on board the flag-ship with Sir Pulteney Malcolm.

February 6. Resumed my voyage.

February 13. Arrived at Malta, and anchored in the quarantine harbour, alongside of a cutter, which proved to be Mr. White's yacht, the Ondine. Here I had the gratification to find Lord Dunlo, who introduced me to Mr. White and their messmate Mr. Freshfield.

I passed three very pleasant days in company with my fellow-prisoners. His Majesty's ship Spartiate, 76, was under orders for England: her commander, Captain (now Rear-Admiral) Frederick Warren, was so kind as to offer me a berth in his cabin and a seat at his table. I gratefully accepted both; went

on board on the 16th; and, after experiencing the greatest hospitality from my kind and considerate host, and every friendly attention from his officers, I arrived in England in the month of March, after a somewhat eventful absence of nine months.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

EXTRACTS FROM THE PRIVATE JOURNAL OF THE RIGHT HON. ROBERT GROSVENOR, M.P.

Presentation of the British Ambassador to the Sultan.

On Monday, the 13th of July, our ambassador's audience with the grand signior took place at the camp at Buyukdéré. Three tents were pitched for the ceremony. The first in front for the sultan, the other two a little in the rear on either side; one of these was for the caimacan and ministers, the other for the ambassador and suite. Behind, were encamped a regiment of cavalry, a company of light artillery, four regiments of infantry, and several companies of artillery. These were dotted about in different places amongst the trees and coppice which adorn the varied ground between the sultan's house and the place of our reception.

The Blonde and Rifleman had sailed up the Bos-

phorus a few days before, and had been moored astern of the line of the Turkish fleet just opposite.

At nine o'clock our own and the Turkish ships were dressed out in flags.

The shore was lined with troops, and crowded with people thronging to see the novel sight. The Bosphorus was covered with caiques.

At ten o'clock, the ambassador, the Right Hon. Sir Robert Gordon, embarked in the state caique, accompanied by Mr. Parish, bearing the king's letter credential, M. Chabert, the principal dragoman, and Captain Lyons's two little sons, standard-bearers of the union jack, each holding a small silk flag. The marines were already landed; the whole party came ashore in the ship's boats. The procession then formed in the following order:—Twenty-four servants in state liveries; the interpreters; the marines in three ranks; the ambassador on horseback; three cavasses on each side; the attachés and "illustrious travellers;" the officers of our two ships: the rear was brought up by another party of marines. In this order we marched between two lines of Turkish troops to the tent of the caimacan. On a long ottoman sat the caimacan, the seraskier pasha, the cadi les mers (chancellors of Europe and Asia), the defterdar, and two or three others. They rose upon the entrance of the ambassador, and he was

allowed to take his seat upon the divan on the right of the caimacan, an honour that former ambassadors were not granted.

We remained standing at a little distance, and M. Chabert knelt before the ambassador and caimacan to interpret. A few compliments passed between them. The attendants now brought five things like casks, upon which silver trays were placed; each of these was furnished with a cloth and a few tortoise-shell spoons; chairs were placed, and dinner was served. The caimacan and ambassador, with M. Chabert as interpreter, occupied the first table. The seraskier, Lord Yarmouth, Captain Lyons, Mr. Parish, and Mr. Wood, interpreter, the second. The two cadi les mers the third. The defterdar, Lord Dunlo, Captain Mitchell, Mr. Mellish, and myself, with M. Pisani, interpreter, the fourth. Mr. Edward Villiers, Colonel Vernon, and the rest of the party, the fifth.

The dinner was a most curious composition: the dishes, to the number of twenty-five, were placed separately on the table, and each of them was tasted, the fluids with the spoon, the solids with the fingers. The dishes were served in violation of all our rules of eating; soup after *entrées*, fish after jelly, the *rôti* preceded by ice, the *pièce de résistance* by an *omelette aux confitures*. The Turks are very fond of sugar in almost all their

ragoûts: the most curious dish of all was a transparent jelly placed on a glass dish containing water and little fishes, so that it conveyed the idea of fishes swimming in a lemon jelly.

When the last dish was removed, the attendants brought round a basin and some rose-water, with which we washed our hands, and tables and train disappeared in a twinkling.

From the caimacan's we went to a small tent to robe. A cloak with a diamond clasp was placed on the shoulders of the ambassador; yellow ones, with diamond clasps, were given the *attachés* and principal dragomans; pink and brown ones to the rest of the party.

The cannon from a small battery near the sultan's house announced that his sublime highness had embarked; and the roar of the salutes from the whole Turkish fleet, which enveloped the camp with a dusky cloud, proclaimed his approach to the place of debarkation.

The captain of one of the Turkish corvettes had not withdrawn the cartridges with which his guns had been charged, and saluted his lord and master with ball: one struck the water, near the spot over which the sultan passed a few minutes after; a second skimmed along the water in the midst of the caiques full of parties of pleasure; a third went in the fort, but,

almost by a miracle, no one was killed. The sultan ordered the captain to be immediately put in irons.

Three of the Blonde's boats formed part of the grand signior's *cortège* for the last quarter of a mile, and gave him nine cheers. The sultan came in a boat something like the large Indian canoe, high fore and aft, rowed by fourteen men, two upon each bench: the craft is black outside, and has no other ornament than two small gilt eagles, one perched upon the top of the rudder, the other upon a small gilt staff near the prow.

The boatmen wore a small red cap just covering the sacred lock on the top of the head; the shirt had no collar, but immense gigot sleeves, made of a sort of elastic gauze of the finest texture; a red silk sash, and white muslin trousers of most capacious dimensions, confined at the knee by a string; the feet were bare. The simplicity of the boat and the boatmen's dresses contrasted forcibly, and gave a wonderful relief to the figure of the sultan himself, reclining upon silks and cashmeres, blazing with the most magnificent brilliants. His highness was accompanied by Mustapha, the favourite and secretary; Achmet Bey, his colonel of hussars; and one or two others, in their gala apparel.

A salute of twenty-one guns was fired the moment the

sultan landed. He now mounted a beautiful Arabian; the housings, bridle, bit, frontlet, breast-plate, and crupper, were covered with diamonds. The animal was painted a great variety of colours; two of his legs were white, the others streaked, his chest was spotted, as was also his nose; but he was beautiful, and the effect was decidedly good. The roar of cannon, and the clang of martial music, had excited all his warlike feelings; he pawed the ground, snorted, and threw the foam from his bit, and chafed as if he would dash from the hands that held him: but the moment the sultan was on his back he became tranquil, and bore his courtly honours as proudly as the favourite Mustapha, who marched by his side.

The sultan was attended by his band of gentlemen pensioners: they were dressed in jacket and trousers of red cloth, with a good deal of gold embroidery: each of these carried a silver battle-axe.

As the sultan approached, there was a simultaneous cry of "Long live the invincible Mahmoud!"

On dismounting, the sultan went to his tent, where he robed himself for the ceremony. He here found the present from our King, worth about two thousand pounds, consisting of a magnificent aigrette. He was anxious to wear it on the occasion, but he broke the clasp in trying to put it on.

After some time spent in adorning his imperial person, he came to the grand tent and mounted his throne, which was an enormous mass of solid silver, with arms and back something like a raised sofa; upon it was a cushion so completely covered with pearls, that it was not till by a subsequent inspection, I discovered its material to be red velvet.

The acclamations were again repeated; and ten imaums, who stood in front of the tent, prostrated themselves before the successor of Mahomet. The caimacan, seraskier, and reis effendy, were then granted an audience. After that, we were desired to advance, and had the honour of being the first embassy that had been allowed to approach the imperial presence with swords on.

Some Turkish officers entered with us: this is the remnant of an ancient, barbarous usage, to prevent the ambassador or suite from attempting any thing against the sacred person. Formerly it was customary to hold the arms of the party; but this part of the ceremony was dispensed with.

The body-guard were drawn up on each side of the throne; they looked like so many statues, perfectly erect, not moving a muscle, their faces averted from the sultan, who sat glittering upon his gorgeous throne.

On his right hand stood the caimacan, on his left Mustapha the favourite, and another. The sultan wore on his head a fez cap, surrounded by a train of diamonds, with an aigrette in the centre, surmounted by a most beautiful esprit feather. A large cashmere violet cloak enveloped nearly the rest of his person, except where it was opened to display a magnificent star of brilliants: one could also perceive that he wore an ample pair of Cossack trousers, Wellington boots, and heeled spurs. The present Sir Robert Gordon had brought him, lay in an open case by his side.

The sultan is about forty-five years of age. He has a handsome black beard, trimmed rather short, according to the fashion of the day, arched eyebrows, very fine eyes, and a full round face; his profile is very distinguished and handsome. He rides remarkably well, and it is on horseback that he looks best, as his greatest deficiency in figure, which is want of leg, is thereby concealed: his chest is very broad, and his whole bust gives a promise of great strength. He prides himself upon being able to shoot an arrow farther than any of his subjects. It is to be presumed that he has not many competitors.

As we entered, he rather inclined forward, resting one hand on the cushion of his throne, thereby displaying a part of his person of which he is exceed-

ingly proud, with sundry rings of untold value decorating the fingers thereof.

When the ambassador arrived within eight or nine paces of his imperial presence, he stopped. The sultan then beckoned to him very graciously, and he approached about half the distance of separation. Sir Robert now made his speech, which was translated by the principal dragoman of the Porte.

The caimacan not repeating it fast enough, or to the satisfaction of the sultan, it was taken up by his highness, who finished the sentence himself. This is esteemed a very great compliment, as usually the sultan is not supposed to vouchsafe even a look towards a Giaour.

Without appearing to do so, he took a comprehensive view of us all: not seeing Captain Lyons, he inquired for him. Observing M. Chabert, who is an oldish man, and whom he knew very well by sight, he said, "I perceive Chabert dyes his mustaches; but he must put on a greater quantity before he can make himself look young again."

When the sultan had finished his speech, we withdrew, and he retired to a small tent immediately behind the large one, whence, after taking off his heavier ornaments, he mounted his horse, and returned to his boat, in the same state as he came.

No. II.

Remarks on the Affairs of Turkey in 1829.

FROM the moment of their arrival at Constantinople, the English and French ambassadors had laboured, in every conference with the reis effendi, to impress upon his mind the great advantages that would accrue to the sultan, if he availed himself of present circumstances to conclude an advantageous peace.

They represented to him that much had been done for the glory of the Ottoman arms. That many of their frontier fortresses still held out; and that those which had fallen had been defended with skill and bravery, and had been captured with heavy loss to the victors.

That the Russians, although harassed by constant sorties, and wasted by sickness, shewed no symptoms of relaxation in their hostile preparations; fresh troops were constantly pouring from the north, and they had obtained a dangerous location at Sizeboli, on this side the Balcan, from which the Turks, after two attempts made by the gallant Hussein, had found it impossible to drive them. That the whole of the Ottoman reserve had been sent to Shumla, leaving

scarcely sufficient troops to repress the general discontent prevailing from the increased taxation and the dearness of provisions, which had risen more than one hundred per cent, owing to the supplies from Odessa being cut off.

That the two high contracting powers, parties with Russia to the treaty of 6th of July, were, of course, deeply interested in wishing that his highness should make an advantageous peace, as they must always view with jealousy any aggrandisement of the already colossal empire of Russia.

That the state of the Russian army, and the difficulties they must encounter ere they could cross the Balcan, must naturally modify the demands of Russia; and that the most favourable terms ought to be expected, if the Porte would at once determine to allow the erection of Greece, the Morea, and Cyclades, (all which at that time were demanded,) into an independent but tributary province.

That this act, so far from being in any way disadvantageous to the Porte, would at once terminate a burdensome, sanguinary, and most doubtful contest; and, above all, that most weakening of all state disorders, the constant risings of a disturbed and revolted province.

That should the chances of war once lead the Russians over the Balcan, and their communications be kept open

by means of Sizeboli, Constantinople was defenceless; and that the terms of peace would then be dictated by them as conquerors, not agreed to as by a contracting party.

That France and England, always happy to mediate in behalf of their ancient ally, had suffered so deeply in their trade by the disturbed state of Greece, that they could not use their good offices effectually without the conditions regarding that country being first complied with.

It may naturally enough be supposed, that a considerable difficulty arose as to the manner in which a question, involving a direct interference in the internal concerns of an empire, could be propounded at all to the plenipotentiaries of that country in whose internal affairs it was proposed so to intermeddle.

Owing to an anxiety to avoid the recognition of so unheard-of a principle, the language of the treaty itself is altogether incomprehensible.* Sir Stratford Canning was obliged to have recourse to every artifice diplomatic ingenuity could devise, to open a discussion upon this subject.† After unremitting attacks upon

* Vide treaty of 6th July.

† There is a passage in Gibbon relative to the difficulties under which the fathers of the church laboured in endeavouring to explain the incomparable mysteries of our faith, which, with very slight alteration, describes the situation of the diplomatists who penned the

every member of the divan, and some curiously-laid plans to engage the attention of the grand signior himself, he was unable to succeed. Perleb Effendi, the reis effendi, rejected the consideration of the subject *in limine;* and the conferences, some of which are already made public, will, I think, shew that Perleb was fully aware of his own advantages. His answers are highly characteristic and entertaining.

The offers of mediation made by Sir Robert Gordon and Comte de Guilleminot, upon their arrival in June 1829, on the part of their respective sovereigns, coupled as they were with the condition of the independence of Greece, met with little better success than the negotiations which Sir Stratford Canning, Comte de Guilleminot, and M. de Ribeaupierre, had made previous to the commencement of the Russian war.

On Monday, the 13th of July, Sir Robert Gordon and his suite were presented in due form at the camp at Buyukdéré. In several instances, the women, of whom multitudes were assembled upon that occasion, made bold to speak to the English Giaours, and begged them to make peace, and restore to them their

treaty. "To purge themselves from the reproach or guilt of such an error (interference), they disavowed their consequences, explained their principles, excused their indiscretions, and unanimously pronounced the sounds of peace and concord."—Sequel, *Navarino.*

husbands and relations, who were perishing with sickness and the sword, and also to bring plenty again into their houses. We were told that murmurs of discontent were hazarded in very audible whispers upon the departure of the sultan from his camp upon this occasion. The fatal battle of Koulouchka had then been fought.

Silistria also had fallen, after fifty-two days of open trenches. Previous to that battle, the principal part of Count Diebitsch's army lay encamped near Silistria. General Roth, who commanded a corps of observation, pushed on beyond Pravadi, which lies between Bazarjik and Shumla. Disease was making such ravages amongst the Russian troops at Varna, that all communications between them and Count Diebitsch's army were interrupted.

Things were in this state about the beginning of June, when Redschid Pasha, grand vizier commanding at Shumla, received an urgent despatch from the seraskier of Silistria, stating, that unless the grand vizier could make a successful attempt to relieve that fortress, it could only hold a short time longer. The grand vizier had for some time meditated a diversion for the relief of Silistria; and was only waiting for accounts that Hussein was on his march from Ruzchuck, to form a junction with him, at the moment

this despatch arrived. This junction of the Turkish forces was not, however, destined to take place; for the grand vizier's messenger had been intercepted by part of Geismar's or Rudiger's corps; reinforcements were despatched to prevent the junction, and the brave Hussein, ex-vizier, remained in ignorance and inaction behind the defences of Rudzchuk.

Redschid is a young and not very experienced commander, and, as sometimes happens in those cases, endowed with more spirit than discretion. Of the first quality he availed himself, and made such a vigorous and unexpected attack upon General Roth, that he surprised his corps, consisting, I believe, of about 3,000 men, and routed it with considerable loss. This success, and the want of the second necessary quality of a general, destroyed him. Redschid had under his command at Shumla, it is supposed, about 36,000 men, of which half were infantry, drilled in the European manner; the rest wild Asiatics, armed with cimeter and yataghan, and long-barrelled guns, with short crooked stocks grotesquely carved. What the number of horses was that he had with him, I never heard estimated; but, from the nature of the ground upon which the battle of Kouloutchka was fought, they could not have been much available during the action to either party.

Redschid's letter to his son, Veli Pasha, upon the occasion of his first success, is extremely curious. It seems that he had been expecting him at Shumla; and the letter expresses, by turns, anger at his non-arrival, and regret that he should not have participated in the victory; with a predominant and enthusiastic feeling of delight scattered over the whole composition, that the enemies of the true faith were put to flight.

Had the grand vizier been satisfied with these laurels, and returned to his fortifications, or taken up a strong position, till he heard something of Hussein, there is no saying what advantages might have been reaped from this affair. But the vizier seemed at once to lose sight of that prudence which directed the operations of the Turkish generals during the first campaign,—fighting behind their ramparts, and never letting the Russians have an opportunity of engaging them in the open field, where the superiority of military tactics must have given to their enemies a fearful advantage. Whether he imagined he should surprise the general-in-chief of the Russians; or whether his computations did not point out to him, that although he had dispersed 3,000 hostile troops with his overwhelming force, still that the success of an attack upon 30,000 might not be so certain, I know not; but, flushed

with his victory in open field, he plunged into the defiles formed by the roots of this ridge of the Hæmus, and advanced to the relief of Silistria.

His skilful opponent, Count Diebitsch, no sooner heard of General Roth's defeat, than, foreseeing the result it would, in all probability, have upon the ulterior operations of the vizier's army, and having no fears of an attack from Rudzchuk, from circumstances already detailed, he detached a strong division of his army to place themselves, by forced marches, between the Turkish army and Shumla, whilst he himself advanced towards Pravadi to meet it in front, and thus force the grand vizier to battle, in whatever circumstances he might be found.

It was not till the passes were occupied by Russian troops between his army and their place of refuge, that the unfortunate vizier saw the full extent of his mistake; and he immediately commenced a retreat, endeavouring to out-manœuvre the Russians, who cut him off from Shumla, and to get past them before any more should advance from Silistria to take him in rear. This, however, he was unable to do, and he was forced to give battle in the defiles of Kouloutchka.

There is no such thing as a Turkish bulletin; the Russian details are well known; they attacked the Turks on the early part of the first day, before a suffi-

cient reinforcement came up, and suffered severely; victory was doubtful during that day; but on the following morning the action was renewed with more troops on the side of the Russians, and the Turks greatly disheartened by the blowing up of a large ammunition waggon, which they looked upon as a fatal omen. The Turkish army was completely routed, and the campaign was, in point of fact, terminated. The Russians say the Turks fought extremely steadily the first day, and shewed a skill in the management of their guns they little expected to find.

When the news of this battle was certified to the Seraskier of Silistria, he surrendered at once. No sooner had the pursuit ceased, than the Russian general sent a flag of truce to the grand vizier, and renewed proposals of a cessation of hostilities. The answer could not by any means be considered satisfactory, nor such as to warrant even an armistice, which, I think, was proposed by the vizier. Shumla was considered impregnable; the Balcan impassable; and the last offer of salvation rather haughtily rejected. Novelties are always disdained by a Turk; the old way of doing a thing is, with them, not only the best way, but the only way. It, therefore, never occurred to them, that the Russians, now for some time in possession of Varna, might have made inquiries which they

never thought of making themselves, namely, whether there was not some way of crossing the mountains near the sea-shore, where difficulties might be less; they might perhaps have explored it. No! Shumla had always been considered the key to the pass of the Balcan; the Russians had run their heads against it in former wars; they would doubtless do so again.

Besides, if you were to inform a Turk that some dreadful calamity was impending over him, the probability is, that, instead of the natural question, "How can I avert it?" he would take his pipe half a minute from his mouth, and say, "Baccaloom; Inshallah — We shall see; God willing."

Count Diebitsch could not have been aware at that time of the destitute state of the Turkish resources. But the passage of the mountains was reported practicable by a place called Aidos, not far from the shores of the Euxine; and he determined, leaving a strong corps of observation upon Shumla, to take advantage of the panic caused by the battle he had won, and, with whatever troops he could collect, to attempt the pass of Aidos, and by these means to make a junction with the troops assembled in the fortress at Sizeboli.

Whether the extent of the discomfiture at Kouloutchka had been purposely concealed from the sultan and the divan, or whether they studiously concealed it

from the Franks, I cannot determine; but although we had had some rumours of disaster from our consul at Adrianople, the Turkish court wore any thing but an appearance of dejection at the time of our presentation on the 13th of July, nor were there any indications of that sort of movement consequent upon the arrival of very bad intelligence. Yet it is most extraordinary, considering the date of the battle, that nothing should have transpired to give us a clue to the reality.

It appeared to me, that the Turkish government treasured up the king's celebrated speech, in which the words "untoward event" are to be found, as a reference to themselves, in time of need,—a sort of assurance that they might, sooner or later, expect our powerful assistance. When they saw an immense fleet sail from England to the Mediterranean; still more, when they found that it had anchored alongside of the Russian blockading squadron at Tenedos, they, it is my firm belief, thought their expectations on the eve of realisation, and in consequence did not conceal the advantages the Russians had gained over them, or their own inability to continue the contest much longer, in order that we might not delay the assistance they expected, to give a timely check to the Russians, by attacking their fleet in the Black Sea. This belief induces me to lean to the first opinion;

namely,— that they did not know the extent of their misfortune. The only way of accounting for the second is, that they imagined the English and French ambassadors would transmit an account of what was passing in Constantinople to the Russians, and that by preserving a bold front, they might lead them to suppose that they had still great resources; and thus induce the Russians, suffering dreadfully from sickness, and the inefficiency of their commissariat, to conclude a peace, without annexing to it the condition of independent Greece. Be this as it may, the Turkish court wore a very different aspect on Monday the 20th, when Mr. Hubsch, the Danish minister, presented his credentials at the camp of Buyukdéré, with pretty nearly the same ceremonial. Care sat lowering upon the imperial brow,—the ceremonies of the day were brought rapidly to a conclusion. It was quite evident that some very bad news had arrived. They knew at that time that the charm was broken; that the Balcan had been surmounted; and that the juncture with the garrison of Sizeboli had been effected.

No sooner had Count Diebitsch directed a sufficient force to keep the grand vizier occupied at Shumla, than he collected together the rest of his army, and leaving Pravadi on his right, marched towards Aidos, in which direction the passage of the

forts of the mountains near the sea was reported practicable. I never could ascertain with any degree of accuracy the number of troops he had with him upon this occasion; but I believe it to have been a mere handful of men, compared with the hazardous nature of the enterprise. The grand vizier sent out a detachment to watch his motions; but I fancy his army was so generally convinced of the advantage of fighting behind walls, that they dared not venture far from their fold. They did, however, fall in with the extreme right of the Russians, and they made some ineffectual opposition to their crossing a small river at a place called Carnabat; after which it is supposed they returned to Shumla; for, except a slight skirmish at Carnabat, on the other side the pass, the Russian officers who came subsequently to Constantinople assured me that it was the last gun fired "pour l'honneur de la patrie," and that they met with no further obstruction whatever. Independent of the absence of opposing force, which must have been a matter of no small surprise to the Russians, they were still more astonished at encountering so few natural obstacles: they found a road already "pratiquée," which could not even then have been very bad; for in a short time afterwards, carts of all descriptions, and delicate four-wheeled carriages, for the general

and his staff, passed over towards Adrianople, without danger or difficulty.

The field-marshal quietly continued his march to Aidos, formed his junction with the garrison of Sizeboli, and then dividing his army into two columns, advanced with one upon Adrianople, by Ianboli, and sent the other towards Kirklessia, to take the sea road by Carapounhar. The question then naturally arises, why the Turks did not defend the pass of Aidos. It is a difficult question to answer. We have no Turkish bulletins: we neither know what forces they had at the commencement of the war, nor what numbers might have been swept away by the sword or by pestilence during the first, and, Turkicè, very successful campaign; so that one can neither estimate what means they had of putting it in a state of defence at first, nor what resources were left them after the taking of Varna and Sizeboli, which must or ought to have drawn their attention very strongly to that point. They seemed to be fully aware of the advantage the Russians had gained by the occupation of Sizeboli, by the desperate efforts they made to retake it. One can only attribute the extraordinary circumstance of their neglecting this pass altogether, to their inveterate habits, and prejudices, and supineness, and to their rooted idea that, as they never attempted any

thing new in war, so neither would the Russians innovate; that the Russians had never, upon former occasions, attempted to pass fortresses without sitting down, besieging, and taking them; that they had always considered Shumla the key to the passes of the Balcan, and that therefore they would do the same upon this occasion; least of all did they contemplate the possibility of its entering into the imagination, even of a Delhi, to think of passing the Balcan before the citadel of Shumla was rased to the ground.

However extraordinary was the conduct of the Turks in the hour of danger, their supineness in time of peace is not less remarkable. Of all the fortified towns, respecting the sieges and defences of which we have heard so much, there is not one deserving that name, except Widdin. This place was fortified, according to the rules of art, by the Austrians. The Turks had sixteen years of peace, during which time their thoughts were very much directed to military tactics. Yet although they had this very good model before their eyes, they made no attempts to improve their line of fortification upon the Danube, or elsewhere; but allowed them to remain with all their ancient defences, each capable only of being defended by an army, for which they would have formed a breast-work.

It is not here intended to consider the difficulties with which the Russians had to contend; but merely to shew the baneful inactivity of the Turkish authorities, which would paralyse the bravest attempts of its soldiery to wage successful war against the enemies of their faith and country.

No. III.

Notes on the Ruins of Azani, by Dr. HALL.

WHEN at Kutaya, having heard, in reply to our usual inquiries concerning ancient ruins, that at a village called Tjavdéré, situated in a plain eight hours south-west of Kutaya, there were the remains of a large city, we determined, although not in the line of our intended route, to make a journey to the spot. Accordingly M. de Laborde, Count Beker, and myself, having procured some extra horses and a guide, we set off at day-break, full of hope that we were about to make some interesting discovery, not having found Tjavadéré, or ruins in that situation, marked in any map of the country.

On leaving the town of Kutaya, we entered a narrow valley of soft limestone rock, whence we ascended by a steep path, crossed at intervals by a torrent. In an hour and a half we arrived on the summit of an elevated region, and continued riding through a hilly country, in a direction south-west, for five hours,

without observing a single habitation. We then gradually descended into a spacious plain, running north and south in its greatest length. In an hour we passed a large village called Oran-Kieu, the houses of which were of the meanest description, and scattered about without any order. We saw another village to the right, called Hadgi-Kieu, which we were told was equally destitute, and without a tree to give it shade, or a stream to cool it. The soil of the plain appeared generally poor, and was only partially cultivated in the rudest manner.

After a fatiguing ride of more than eight hours, we began to approach the object of our research, situated towards the south-west extremity of the plain, at the foot of a gentle declivity. For some time before our arrival, we had observed a mass of columns on an elevation rising behind the village of Tjavdéré, which intervened: after passing a small river, on a bridge of stone, we traversed the village, and found ourselves in the centre of an ancient city, as yet unnoticed by any traveller. A magnificent temple, insulated columns, a theatre, and a hippodrome, were the chief objects to which our attention was first directed. A profusion of prostrate pillars, and architectural fragments of great beauty and variety, encumbered our path in every direction; sometimes in scattered por-

tions, and sometimes in distinct masses, shewing the sites of ancient structures.

Having taken a general view of these interesting remains, we partook of a hasty meal, composed of honey and cakes of bad bread, the only provisions we could obtain, and then commenced our observations more in detail. The temple is Ionic; and is an example of the eustylus, with fifteen columns on the flanks, and eight in the fronts; with two columns between the antæ, at the entrance of the cella on the west front. The peristyle is raised on a massive plinth of marble; the columns are of the same materials, each of a single stone, and fluted. The wall of the cella is composed of large stones, nicely fitted, without cement, their outside edges being delicately cut; a groove is left between each. The rows of stones diminish in bulk as they ascend; thus the wall rises after the manner of a graduated pyramid: a band, with a pediment, runs along the wall at six feet ten inches from the podium. Immediately above this there was a range of tablet stones, three of which remain on the inside of the east end of the north wall, and are covered with Greek and Latin inscriptions.

On the west front the walls were double. The outer one is pierced by two doorways; but whether either of them ever conducted into the interior of the

temple is doubtful; one certainly did not,—because a portion of the inner wall which remains has no corresponding door in it, but there is a passage leading from the intermural chamber to a spacious vault, which runs beneath the temple.

The part of the inner wall which faced the other door is entirely destroyed; but some faint traces of substructions inclined me to think there might have been a door of communication with the temple here; if not, there must have been either another entrance to the temple at the east end, with columns between the antæ, as in the west front; or there was a centre doorway in the inner wall of the west front, communicating with one or both of the doors of the outer wall, by means of the intermediate space. The alterations of a later date, to which the temple has been subjected to convert it apparently into a Christian church, have caused the destruction of the east front, which in my opinion corresponded originally with the west;—but in this supposition my companions did not coincide with me.

The vault under the temple, to which there is, and probably always was, a communication with the passage between the double walls of the west front, is a spacious chamber, roofed by a single arch, constructed with vast blocks of stone, extremely well cut and

fitted; it has six spiracles or openings, (two on each of the sides, and one at the ends) sloping upwards, and issuing at the base of the peristyle to admit light and air. I am inclined to believe that the temple was erected on an arched substruction, as being more easy to construct,—more secure from the effects of damp,—and more stable than a solid foundation *artificially* raised; at least, I observed nothing in the arrangement of the vault beneath to lead me to an opinion that it was intended for the performance of the mysteries of heathen priestcraft: but secret passages, subterraneous chambers, and intermural spaces, are, it must be confessed, portentous adjuncts to an ancient temple; at least one of my companions could perceive in such an apparatus nothing less than the evidences of human sacrifices — spectral voices — and oracular responses.

The parts of the temple in preservation when I visited the spot, were — almost the whole of the plinth of the peristyle on every side.

Twelve of the fifteen columns* on the north flank, and five of the eight with the two columns between the antæ on the west front, all erect, with their entablatures.

* My own notes mention sixteen columns.

The roof of the peristyle.

The whole of the north wall.

The outer west wall of the cella, with a small portion of the inner west wall.

The whole structure is of coarse blue marble, with white veins; but time has given its own colour and softness to the surfaces. The decorations are well executed, but the ornaments are too profuse.

The exact measurements of the different parts will decide its architectural merits.

The temple is situated on a quadrangular elevation of great extent, which seems to have been faced on all sides with masonry, and probably was approached by steps: some arches which supported this terrace are still observable at the south-east angle.

On this platform, opposite the east front of the temple, I observed the substructions of a square building, which might have been an altar, or a place for the priests to perform their ablutions before entering the temple. There was also, not far off, the shaft of an ancient well, nearly choked up.

The theatre is situated about a quarter of a mile to the north of the temple, with a stadium attached, which runs from the theatre at right angles to, and not parallel with it, the scene, as at Sardis.

The theatre is excavated in the side of a hill; it is somewhat more than a semicircle, whose external diameter is about 190 feet: there are seventeen rows of seats still discernible; those remaining are in too ruinous a state to be counted.

The cavea being excavated in a hill, there are no arched passages, or vomitories conducting to the seats. The proscenium appears to have been elevated above the orchestra about five feet.

There are two large windows or openings in the walls, which terminate the seats, probably for the spectators in the theatre to view the hippodrome. I should think much labour had been bestowed on the decorations of the proscenium, judging from the fragments of columns, and other highly-wrought portions of architectural ornaments scattered around. The centre of the scene has a semicircular niche receding from the proscenium, in which is the principal doorway opening to the stadium; the scene has also two other doors, and two windows; and at each extremity a small tower or lodge projecting towards the stadium.

There were seats on both sides of the hippodrome, raised artificially: on the west side there are still some of the arches on which these seats were elevated, extending about two-thirds of the *apparent* length of the

stadium (its exact boundary is not evident), and terminated by small towers or lodges.

In the centre of the arena I observed some substructions, which appeared to mark the line of the spina.

We saw no statues, or detached portions of good sculpture.

I believe a few copper coins found here are in the possession of M. de Laborde.

The tombstones of the modern cemetery are all composed of fragments of the ancient city. Many have Greek inscriptions, of which we found a profusion every where; from them we learn that Tjavdéré occupies the site of the ancient Azani, in Phrygia.

Over the stream which we crossed on entering Azani are two small bridges, of Roman structure, the arches of which are elliptical: they are in excellent preservation, wanting only the parapet, which they evidently once possessed.

We ascended the banks of this stream for two miles, having been told that we should there find its source; instead of which we came to a massive bridge, of one small arch, which crossed a narrow gorge between some low hills.

Much of the common stone, of which the city of

Azani is built, was obtained from this neighbourhood; but the marble was probably brought from the hills which bound the plain to the west, where we were told there were great excavations.

The ancient city does not seem to have been bounded by walls, at least we could find no traces to lead us to a contrary opinion.

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THE END.

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